Vol. XXXIII, Part II August, 1955 Serial No. 98

JOURNAL
of
INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (OXON).

Professor of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,

formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Travancore.

DR. K. K. PILLAI, M.A., D.LITT. (MADRAS), D.PHIL. (OXON),

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.

Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE
TRIVANDRUM

CONTENTS

THE PROGRESS AND FUTURE OF INDIAN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDIES—by Prof. D. B. Diskalkar .. 131

WHO IS A QALANDAR?—by Dr. Mahammad Tagi Ahmad .. 155

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH POSTAL SYSTEM IN INDIA—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. .. 171

INDO-AEGEAN BOAT DESIGNS AND THEIR ETHNOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION—by Dr. J. T. Cornelius, M.A., M.D., M.P.H., Ph.D. (Lond.) .. 175

NIZAM'S RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH AND TIPU SULTAN DURING 1787-1789—by B. Sheikh Ali .. 185

SARASVATI BHANDARAS IN SOUTH INDIA—by K. D. Swaminathan, M.A. .. 195

THE YOUNGHUSBAND EXPEDITION, AN INTERPRETATION—by P. L. Mehra, Ph.D. (John Hopkins) .. 201

REVIEWS:—(1) A History of India—by J. C. Powell-Price. (2) Ancient History of Saurashtra—by Dr. Krishna Kumari J. Virji, Ph.D. (3) Chinese History and World History, An Inaugural Lecture—by E. G. Pulleyblank. (4) Descriptive Catalogue of the Secret and Political Department Series, 1755-1820, compiled by V. G. Dighe. (5) Poona Akhbars, Vols. I & II—Published by the Central Records Office, Hyderabad (Deccan)—1953 & 1954. (6) Sanpuri Bakhar—Published by the Daftar-e-Diwani, Hyderabad (Deccan) 1950. (7) Historical Selections from Baroda Records (New Series), Vol. I—1826-1835. General Editor: P. M. Joshi. Compiled by V. G. Joshi. (8) Selections from unpublished correspondence of the Judge-Magistrate and the Judge of Patna 1790-1857. Compiled and Edited with an introduction by Dr. K. K. Datta. (9) Journal of the Annamalai University—Vol. XIX. (10) Ethnography of Ancient India by Robert Shafer. (11) The Age of Imperial Kanauj: Vol. IV, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan. (12) Kongu Nāṭṭu Varalāṟu (Tamil)—by C. M. Ramachandran Chettiar. (13) A History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. (14) Six St. Thomasses of South India—by T. K. Joseph .. 229

SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS .. 257

OUR EXCHANGES .. 259

The Progress and Future of Indian Epigraphical Studies

BY

PROF. D. B. DISKALKAR, *Poona.*

Although in modern times the Europeans were attracted towards India since in 1498 A.D. Vasco de Gama discovered the way to India they took little interest in the culture and religion of the Indians about whom they held a very low opinion. Two Europeans, one a Portuguese named Luigi de Camoens and the other, an Italian named Fillppo-Sassetti, who lived long in India seem to have felt the charm of Indian civilization. In his letters dated 1585 and 1588 sent by Sassetti to his friend in Florence he speaks highly of the Sanskrit language (*Ind. Cult.* 2. 693). But his discovery did not impress any body for about a century more. John Marshall, an Englishman, was the first European who regularly studied Indian antiquities, as can be seen from his "*Account of the Hindu book called Srebaugbutporan*" which consists of an English translation of a portion of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa made with the help of one "Muddo Soodan Rawji Brahmin at Cassumbazar" in Bengal and completed on 25 June 1675. (*The Oriental Collection* Vol. II (1798). John Marshall's Sanskrit attainments are mentioned by Marshman in his *History of Bengal.* (Shaffat Ahmedkhan, *John Marshall in India,* p. 29). But real interest in the Hindu Culture and religion was not created till the end of the eighteenth century when the Europeans became acquainted with the Bhagavatgītā with Nala and with Śakuntalā.

Interest of modern scholars in the collection and study of Indian epigraphical records began in 1784 A.D. when by the efforts of Sir William Jones, a distinguished scholar and linguist who had already acquired considerable familiarity with some of the classics of India, of Sir Charles Wilkins who for the first time brought his profound learning to bear upon Sanskrit paleography and deciphered several inscriptions which were unintelligible to the Pandits of his time, and of some other British Civilians in Bengal (*Centenary Review A. S. Bengal,* p. 3 footnote) the Asiatic Society was founded on

15th January 1784 in Calcutta with the object of enquirng into the history, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia in which civilization was thought to have its origin and growth. By this time the British had almost firmly established themselves in India and with India as their base they were spreading commercial and diplomatic connections with the neighbouring countries in Asia and were trying to know of them as much as possible. Importance of inscriptions for the elucidation of history was duly acknowledged by the founders of the Society and their decipherment had engaged the attention of the Society from a very early date though more attention was paid towards the study and production of leading works of all departments of Brahminical literature. H. T. Colebrooke a prominent member of the Society in an early Volume of the *Asiatic Researches* (9.898) writes: "in the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient and even for the modern history of the Hindu race importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments and especially inscriptions on stone and metal which are occasionally discovered through various accidents".

In 1785 A.D. Wilkins read the Bedal pillar inscription of king Narayanapal of Bengal and some other Sanskrit inscriptions and published their translations in the Society's Journal called *Asiatic Researches* the first Volume of which appeared in 1788. In the same year an Indian scholar named Pandit Radhakant Sharma deciphered an inscription of V. S. 1220 of Chāhamāna Vīsaladeva of Ajmer engraved on the Delhi-Shivalik pillar. As the script of these inscriptions was the so-called *Kuṭila* script not much differing from the modern Devanagari script there was not much difficulty in deciphering them. But when the Nagarjuni and Barabar cave inscriptions of the Maukhari king Anantavarman which were in the Gupta script were discovered by J. H. Harington the difficulty to decipher them arose. Wilkins laboured for three years and in 1789 the Gupta script began to be read. But when in 1795 Sir Charles Mallet took impressions of the short inscriptions in the Karla caves which were in a still earlier script and sent them to the Society the real difficulty of deciphering them came and the progress of deciphering inscriptions was somewhat hindered. In 1801 Harington published a *"Book of Drawings and Inscriptions"* which contained copies of inscriptions on the celebrated pillars of Delhi and Allahabad. In 1807 Colebrook published a series of inscriptions on stone and copper from Tripur, Gorakhpur, Chitradurg, Kurugoda,

Kurroh, Dinajpur, Nidigal Goujda and Banaras. In the same year Major Mackenzie published inscriptions on the Jain statues, including that of Gomatesvar, at S'ravana Belgola. In 1808 Elphimone described the remains of the tope at Manikyala in N. W. India. In 1813 Lt. Price published a Sanskrit inscription of a Chandela ruler. In 1825 H. H. Wilson published some Sanskrit inscriptions, translated by Captain Fell of the Chanaman rulers of Kanauj and Delhi. In the same year Jenkins published some copper-plate inscriptions written in box-headed characters from Chhatisgarh and Stirling for the first time noticed the famous Khandagiri inscriptions. In 1828 Wilson published a series of forty-three Sanskrit inscriptions found on mount Abu. In 1835 Wathen published two Valabhi copper-plate inscriptions. By this time copies of a large number of inscriptions of diverse kinds which had been discovered from time to time had been accumulating in the hands of the Asiatic Society. Prinsep published in 1836 in the fifth Volume of the Journal of the Society, a long series of facsimilies of ancient inscriptions. This series was continued in the Volumes of 1837 and 1838. Many of the Prakrit inscriptions including those of Aśoka and Khārvela and of the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Gupta sovereigns were republished by Prinsep in 1837 and 1838. (*Centenary Review A· S. B. Part* II).

Such epigraphical activities created widespread interest among the enlightened officers of the Government. Col. Colin Mackenzie of the Indian Survey Department was collecting manuscripts and copies of inscriptions in Southern India with the assistance of a big staff. After a quarter of a century's work (1796 to 1820) his collection of inscriptions rose to 9000. Walter Elliot was successful in collecting upto 1833 copies of more than 6000 inscriptions, most of which were in Kannad. Similarly Francis Buchanon (Hamilton), Walhen, Col. Jacob and Dr. Bhau Daji zealously collected many inscriptions. In Rajputana James Tod had discovered a number of old inscriptions. All these inscriptions were either in the later Nagari script or in the South Indian script which for a number of years had not undergone much change. There was not therefore much difficulty in deciphering them. From 1784-1836 the epigraphical researches were thus restricted to decipherable records only. This was the first stage in the progress of epigraphical studies.

The Second stage begins with the attempts of deciphering the unintelligible Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhri scripts in which the earliest inscriptions found in India were written. W. H. Mill, a profound Sanskrit scholar worked hard in deciphering the inscription on the Allahabad column but without any success. At last a gifted and ingenious scholar named James Prinsep who had come to India in 1819 as an assistant to the Assay Master of the Calcutta mint which post was then occupied by a sound Sanskrit Scholar named H. H. Wilson, set himself to the difficult task and with the help of another enthusiastic scholar named Masson succeeded in the partial decipherment of the Brāhmī script on the Greek, Bactrian, Kshatrap and Kushan coins (see Cunningham A.S.R. Vol. I Inter. p. 8). After some more efforts he succeeded in 1836 in the complete decipherment and translation of the still earlier edicts of Aśoka on pillars at Delhi and Allahabad. On this achievement coins and inscriptions written in the peculiar Brahmi and Kharoshtri scripts began to pour upon James Prinsep from all parts of India. Lieut. Postans and Capt. Lang who had taken copies of the famous Girnar inscription of Aśoka sent them to Calcutta but owing to ill health Prinsep was obliged to leave India in October 1886 for England where he subsequently died on 22nd April 1840 at an early age of forty. By his death Indian Epigraphy no doubt suffered a heavy loss.

Later on Cunningham and other scholars succeeded in deciphering the other early script named Kharoshthri with the help of the bi-lingual Indo-Greek coins found in large numbers during explorations and excavations in N. W. India and Afghanistan. The decipherment of the two scripts put Indian Epigraphy on a sound foundation.

It is no doubt true that as seen from the above, much of the early epigraphical work was done by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta since its inception in 1784, but the work done by the Bombay Literary Society which was constituted twenty years subsequently had also been of great importance. Three quarto volumes published by this Society commencing with the year 1804 and terminating with that of 1821 met with a most liberal and distinguished reception amongst the Literates of England and the Continent. Soon after the institution of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in England in 1823 the Literary Society of Bombay agreed to be its branch with the name of the Bombay Branch Royal Asia-

tic Society as the Madras Branch had done. In the same year the Asiatic Society of Calcutta accepted to be a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of London and began to be called the Asiatic Society of Bengal. From this time to 1841 all literary communications forwarded by the members of the Bombay Society were transmitted to England and were published in the Transactions and Journal of that Society which had already begun to publish learned articles on Indian Epigraphical material by Tod, Colebrooke and other epigraphists. From 1841 the B. B. R. A. S. decided to start a Journal of its own in which from the very beginning learned articles on epigraphical material began to appear contributed specially by Capt. Le Grand Jacob, Dr. Stevenson, Bal Gangadhar Shashtri, and later on by Bhagvanlal, Buhler, Telang, R. G. Bhandarkar, Fleet, and others, who zealously devoted themselves to the collection, study and publication of epigraphical records. Thus these Societies were doing very valuable epigraphical work by collecting, studying, and publishing inscriptions from time to time. The work done by the Societies of Bengal, Bombay and London for a hundred years was reviewed by Dr. Hoernle, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Parjiter respectively in the centenary volumes of their Journals. The large number of ancient inscriptions in the cave temples had attracted special attention of the West India scholars. Walten, chief secretary to the Bombay Government, got copied several inscriptions in the Kanheri and other caves of West India in 1836. Dr. Wilson prepared facsimilies of all the inscriptions at Karla and Dr. Stovell made copies of the Nasik inscriptions. In 1847 Dr. Bird published his learned volume of the *Caves of Western India* which contained facsimilies and translations of the cave inscriptions copied with great trouble by all these scholars. In 1851 Dr. Bratt and the Wash brothers were employed by the Board of Directors of the East India Company to copy all the known inscriptions from different caves. The impressions taken by them were utilised by Dr. Stevenson. Dr. Bhau Daji and Dr. Wastergard made several attempts to decipher, interpret, and publish the inscriptions in stray articles. In 1854 the Bombay Cave Temple Committee called attention to inscriptions and obtained appointment of Lieut. Brett and Vishnushashtri Pandit for the collection and publication of inscriptions.

As it was thought that a really scientific study of the inscriptions was not possible without their mechanical impressions they

were taken with considerable trouble and expense. Photographs of inscriptions were also sometimes taken and a Volume of Photographic inscriptions for the Kanarese District edited by T. C. Hope was subsequently published by the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of West India in 1866.

The Third stage in the progress of epigraphical studies began with the regular establishment of the Archaeological Department by the Government of India and with the appointment of Sir A. Cunningham, who since his appointment as an officer of the Royal Engineers had shown much zeal for Archaeology, as its head on 15th October 1861. His designation of Archaeological Surveyor was subsequently in 1870, enhanced as that of Director General of Archaeology in India. Like the establishment of a Government Department the starting of a non-official monthly journal called *Indian Antiquary* in 1872 gave further stimulus to the study and publication of Indian epigraphical records by scholars in and outside India.

During his tenure of twentyfour years Cunningham by explorations and excavations of a number of ancient sites brought to light a vast epigraphical material which was critically noticed by him in his twenty three learned Annual Reports. Cunningham was an all-round and gifted Archaeologist. His work in the field of epigraphy is remarkable. During one of the early excavations undertaken by him at Harappa he discovered three pictographic seals and with the instinct of a true Paleographist he suggested seventy years back that the script on the seals seemed to be the phototype of the Brahmi script. Curiously enough Cunningham's discovery did not attract the attention of scholars at the time as it did much later on when a vast material was obtained during excavations at several sites in the Indus Valley. It is worth noting that his theory of the origin of the Brahmi script from the Indus script is now being accepted by a majority of scholars.

Cunningham's great service to the cause of Epigraphy (see I. A. 15-116) was to carry out the suggestion first made by a French epigraphist M. Jacket in 1835, again made by James Prinsep himself in 1837 and once again made by the Bombay Cave Temple Committee in 1856, indicating the necessity of systematically arranging the epigraphical records according to a plan and bringing together the ancient inscriptions of India in publications named as

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Cunningham planned three Volumes in the Series, the first containing all the inscriptions of Aśoka, the second containing the inscriptions of the Indo-Greek and Kshatrapa rulers and the third containing all the inscriptions of the Gupta sovereigns and their feudatories. The first Volume on the Edicts of Aśoka edited by Cunningham himself was brought out in 1877, but the remaining two had to be kept in abeyance for some reasons. With the publication of the first Volume, interest in the study of inscriptions of Aśoka and in other Prakrit inscriptions was created. Similarly with the publication in 1877 of the three monumental Volumes on the regional histories of Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Karnatak based mainly on epigraphical records in the Bombay Gazetteer series and compiled by the distinguished epigraphists Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. J. F. Fleet respectively showed to the world the importance of epigraphical records for preparing the history of a country.

The Archaeological Department was fortunate in securing the services of another competent and devoted archaeologist named James Burgess who had been working as Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter to the Government for Western and Southern India. His *Memorandum* dated Edinburgh 20th August 1881 on the collection and publication of Indian historical inscriptions created further interest in Epigraphy and many European and Indian scholars devoted themselves to the study of Epigraphy and published several articles on the subject. With the help of Bhagvanlal Indraji, Burgess himself published in 1881 Inscriptions from Buddhist cave temples of Western India in Vol. X of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. He also published in 1885 a number of Persian and Sanskrit inscriptions in an Appendix of his *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency.* Bhagwanlal Indraji travelled throughout India even in Nepal and for the first time copied and brought to light a large number of inscriptions from inaccessible places.

The Fourth stage in the progress of epigraphical studies begins with the opening of the regular section of epigraphy in the Archaeological Department in 1883.

With the accumulation of epigraphical material most of which was from South India and in South Indian scripts and languages, the decipherment of which required a trained staff devoted to this

work alone, it was thought necessary to establish a regular section of epigraphy in the Archaeological Department. Accordingly a separate post of Epigraphist to the Government of Madras was created and Dr. J. F. Fleet, I. C. S., a deep student of Indian epigraphy, specially of Kanarese epigraphy, was appointed to it with the primary duty to prepare Volume III of the Corpus, which had already been planned by Cunningham in 1877. The valuable work in Kanarese inscriptions which Fleet did, created interest in the study of South Indian inscriptions. Dr. Fleet's study of Indian Epigraphy was characterised by his mastery of classical and South Indian languages, a thorough grasp of its details combined with remarkable skill in synthesis and highly sober and critical judgment based on strictly scientific methods. His brilliant essay on Indian Epigraphy published in the Imperial Gazetteer Vol. II testifies to his critical acumen and devotion to the subject. His paper on the present position of Indian historical research published in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. 46) also did much to arouse interest in Indian Epigraphy. Dr. Fleet worked from 17-1-1883 to 4-6-1886 when he reverted to his original post in the Revenue Department. On the retirement of Cunningham in 1885 Burgess was appointed in his place. He secured the appointment of Dr. Hultzsch as Government Epigraphist with the duty of collecting and publishing the inscriptional records of the Madras Presidency and training a staff of assistants to help in carrying on that work. Another thing Burgess did was to start a second new Journal called the *Epigraphia Indica* solely devoted to the publication of inscriptions.

Soon after his appointment on 21-11-1886 Dr. Hultzsch undertook a regular epigraphical survey of the Madras Presidency and collected a number of Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions. Copying of inscriptions was regularly begun. They were examined, tabulated and noticed in Annual Reports. A systematic record of epigraphical records began to be kept in the Epigraphist's office since this time. Dr. Fleet's Volume on the Corpus of Gupta inscriptions came out in 1888. With the publication of the Sanskrit inscriptions in this Volume, interest in Epigraphy was further increased. After the retirement of Dr. Burgess as the Director General of Archaeology in 1889, (I. A. 1917 p. 160) when retrenchment in the Department of Archaeology was to be effected, it was proposed to discontinue the post of the Epigraphist and his staff with the idea that

private bodies might take up the work. But it was realised that Dr. Hultzsch and his staff were the only people competent to decipher the Dravidian inscriptions and that Epigraphy was not only a subject of scientific interest to the learned world but also one which might sometimes throw light on problems of modern administration and so fortunately the axe of retrenchment did not fall on the section of Epigraphy. With the help of his assistants like Venkayya highly trained in South Indian epigraphy Dr. Hultzsch started a Government publication series entitled *South Indian Inscriptions* in which the selected inscriptions from South India were edited in instalments arranged according to the find spots, the languages in which they are written or according to the dynasties of the rulers represented in them. During the period from 1890 to 1903 he published three volumes of the series.

When Dr. Hultzsch with his assistant Venkayya was working in the Madras State, Rice with the help of R. Narasinghcharya was working in the Mysore State for the Kanerese inscriptions. During the period from 1886 to 1904, he published twelve big volumes in a series entitled *"Epigraphia Karnatica."* Similarly, the services of Burnell and Sewell to the cause of S. I. and Kannad Epigraphy can never be underrated. During this period, a new batch of enthusiastic workers in Epigraphy was rising, whose achievements in the field of Epigraphy were very great. Dr. Buhler, Dr. Kielhorn, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. Rajendralal Mitra were the most prominent of them. No Indian can ever forget the devoted services of Dr. Buhler (1837-1898 A.D.) in the cause of Indology in almost all its branches. His indefatigable zeal and rare ingenuity had contributed greatly in the field of Indian Epigraphy. His intimate acquaintance with manuscripts and inscriptions naturally made Buhler a first-rate authority on all questions of Paleography and it may be borne in mind that his masterly treatises on the *Indian Brahmi alphabets and Paleography* with his valuable Paleography-tables published in 1896 A.D. are ripened fruits of his epigraphic studies and have not yet been superseded or supplemented. They are considered to have brought the Paleographical enquiries to a climax. In his time, he was a guiding star to all the Indologists in the world. Buhler and Kielhorn were the first to draw the attention of Sanskritists to the high literary value of inscriptions. From examinations of selected inscriptions and other sources Buhler has

shown that the ornate style of classical Sanskrit poetry and poetical prose was already in full bloom in the second century A.D. (I.A. 37 p. 337, 349, 383 and 38 p. 364).

Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji was rightly called a born Archaeologist by scholars like Buhler. His epigraphical discoveries in Nepal for which Dr. Buhler called him the path finder in the history of Nepal and in several other places display his critical acumen worthy of a trained Epigraphist. In Palaeography he finally settled the value of the signs of the ancient numerical system. His contributions and study of cave numerals and the interpretation of the Kharvel inscription, Nanaghat inscriptions, Andhra coins and the discovery of the Mathura Lion Capital marked him as one of the best epigraphists that India has produced.

The epigraphical researches of Dr. Kielhorn and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar are extremely valuable. They showed us the methods of critical research. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra continued the noble traditions of scholars in east India.

The post of the Director General of Archaeology, which was kept in abeyance on the retirement of Burgess in 1889 was revived and Sir John Marshall was appointed in the post from 22-2-1902. Dr. Marshall completely reorganised the whole department and the epigraphical section received its due recognition. By regular explorations and excavations at important ancient sites like Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Sanchi, Charsadda, Rajgir, Sarnath, Bhita, Saheth-Maheth and several more which formed an important part of the Survey work, the department was successful in bringing to light valuable epigraphical material which has enlightened some of the darkest chapters of Indian history. Although a major portion of the material consisted of the Hindu inscriptions and the epigraphy section of the department was doing proper justice to them the Muslim inscriptions were not neglected. Denisson Ross was appointed Honorary Epigraphist in Persian and Arabic to issue a Muslim series of the *Epigraphia Indica* (A.R.D.G.A. 1903-4). The monumental and learned Annual Reports of the Archaeological series regularly issued by the Government of India from 1903 to 1937 contain a special chapter reviewing the epigraphical discoveries and researches done every year. Some of the reports contain valuable inscriptions edited in them. An idea of the inscriptions noticed in these reports can be formed even by referring to the Index to the Annual Reports which is a very useful compilation.

Similarly the Archaeological departments of several Indian States brought to light abundant epigraphical material. The work in this respect done by the Mysore, Gwalior and Hyderabad States is specially noteworthy. After the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919 the Department of Archaeology was completely placed under the charge of the Central Government, and the Epigraphical section was reorganised. The year 1925-26 inaugurated the Epigraphical Series of Bombay Karnatak which was conducted regularly. By the combined efforts of the Superintendent of Epigraphy and the Kannad Research Institute, Dharwar, much epigraphical material is being discovered since 1939.

The Fifth stage in the progress of epigraphical studies in India is marked by the discovery of the world-known Indus Valley seals containing a peculiar script during excavations from 1921 to 1936 by the Government of India at Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Chanhudaro and some other Indus Valley sites. The Indus Valley discoveries created a sensation among eminent epigraphists all over the world and the study of Indian epigraphy was no longer restricted to India alone. So far Indian epigraphy was considered to be useful for the reconstruction of ancient history of India alone, but now it was thought necessary for reconstructing the ancient history of several ancient countries in the world also. It was also thought that knowledge of the ancient epigraphies of other countries would be helpful for deciphering the early epigraphy of India. Naturally literature published so far on this subject is very vast. (See *Vedic India* by Dandekar). The most unfortunate thing however is that with all the efforts of the epigraphists the peculiar script of the Indus Valley seals and of similar seals found elsewhere is not yet deciphered. But the similarities of such symbols found on seals discovered in some other countries in Western Asia and Egypt have shown that there was a considerable intercourse between India and Western Asia in the early days of human civilisation. Since a number of distinguished epigraphists in the world have been persistently attempting to decipher the peculiar script, there is every hope that ere long their efforts will be crowned with success.

In point of script, language, nature and culture, the inscriptions in Further India and in Central Asia were closely connected with

Indian Epigraphy and the valuable epigraphical discoveries by French and Dutch Archaeologists in Further India and by Sir A. Stein in Central Asia had already widened the scope of Indian Epigraphical studies, and the Indus Valley discoveries carried it still further and made the studies of Indian Epigraphy an integral part of the epigraphical studies in the world.

Owing to the profuseness of records and linguistic peculiarities and owing to their special contributions to our knowledge of South Indian history, South Indian Epigraphy as stated above used to receive special treatment at the hands of the Archaeological Department, since the appointment of Dr. Hultzsch. So the inscriptions stored in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy from its inception in 1887 to 1903 had been published in eight big volumes in the order of their collection in the series of South Indian Inscriptions. Since the wealth of materials contained in these volumes is practically inaccessible to scholars not conversant with South Indian languages it was thought necessary to edit the inscriptions according to dynasties, in chronological order with prefatory notes in English for each inscription. Further volumes were published according to this plan.

During the period of fifty years of epigraphical survey of Madras Presidency together with that of some places in the adjoining States, over 24000 inscriptions in temples and other ancient monuments and about 500 copper plates from various sources had been copied, studied and reviewed in the Annual Reports on Epigraphy issued till 1921.

Sir John Marshall, who had the unique experience of being the head of the Archaeological Department for more than twenty-five years retired in 1928 but was placed on special duty so as to enable him to bring out monographs on Mohenjodaro, Taxila and Sanchi. Most of the persons who succeeded him as head of the Department were good epigraphists and helped the cause of Epigraphy. The world war second affected Indian Epigraphy to a considerable extent as many other cultural Departments were. (Ancient Ind. No. 5). But now with the renewed efforts of the Government of India and other devoted workers Indian Epigraphy is growing in importance as before.

Innumerable are the names of scholars—European and Indian—who have done valuable work in the cause of Indian Epigraphy.

The names of some of them who have been in some way or other instrumental for the beginning and progress of Indian epigraphical studies are given above. Many more can be seen from the list compiled by the Editors of *Indian Antiquary* and published separately in a special Index of the Journal. Although similar lists of others who contributed to other Research Journals are not available, names of a number of epigraphists who in their own way made valuable contributions to Indian Epigraphy can be known from the Bibliographies of the Kern Institute and of the Bombay Historical Society.

Fortunately the Archaeological Department during the regime of Sir John Marshall had very competent epigraphists like H. Krishnaśāstri, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dayaram Sahani, R. D. Banerji, Hiranand Shashtri, K. N. Dikshit, K. V. S. Aiyar, C. R. Krishnamachari, N. G. Muzumdar, N. P. Chakravarti, etc. who edited a number of valuable inscriptions brought to light during this period. The services of European and Indian Epigraphists of this time not connected with the Department some of whom may be named as F. W. Thomas, Sten Konow, Luders, Rapson, Vogel, Gaurishankar Ojha, Yazdani, R. B. Harilal, K. P. Jayaswal, Ramaprasad Chanda, V. V. Mirashi, R. C. Muzumdar are very great. Theirs can be said to be the fourth generation of Indian Epigraphists, the first generation being of Wilkins, Harington, Wilson, Wathen, Tod etc., the second being of Prinsep, Masson, Cunningham etc. and the third being of Buhler, Kielhorn, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhagvanlal and Rajendralal Mitra.

The papers on important inscriptions contributed by all the above mentioned epigraphists are naturally many. It is impossible to estimate the importance even of a few of them. The periodicals in which they are published along with other subjects of oriental research are also many. How certain research-journals did much to further the cause of Epigraphy may be stated here in a few lines.

Although the several Asiatic Societies and some other like research institutions had their own periodicals wherein much epigraphical material discovered from time to time was edited by competent scholars, the need of a monthly Journal to promote Oriental research work was always felt. A non-official Journal called the *Indian Antiquary* was therefore started in 1872 under the editorship of Dr. James Burgess, an enthusiastic scholar who was sub-

sequently taken in Government service. One of the aims and objects of the Journal was to supplement the Journals of the various Asiatic Societies by directing the attention of its readers to the best articles in them and to serve as an adequate medium of communication between Orientalists and Archaeologists in the different provinces of India and in Europe and America. (See I.A., 1917 p. 3). All the prominent scholars of the time in India and abroad even those in Government service (see *Index* to I.A. Pt. I) helped the *Indian Antiquary* by their valuable contributions. Consequently it became such a useful Journal that it continued to serve the cause of Indian Antiquities for sixty-two years. Its chief feature was all along the reproduction and publication of inscriptions adequately edited from the originals themselves. There is no doubt that the *Indian Antiquary* gave a real impetus to the study of Indian Epigraphy. A large number of most valuable inscriptions from all parts of India and from Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and other surrounding countries which were influenced by Indian religions and culture have been published in it with Text and Translation and in many instances with lithographic facsimilies. Fleet's series of Pali, Sanskrit and old Kanarese inscriptions published in the Journal is extremely valuable.

In spite of all the Archaeological publications containing much valuable epigraphical material brought out by Government from time to time and in spite of all the popularity and wide circulation of the *Indian Antiquary* which had been doing so much for Indian Epigraphy it was thought necessary to start a regular Journal solely devoted to the publication of inscriptions. So in 1892 A.D., another quarterly Journal called the "*Epigraphia Indica*" was started as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*. Dr. Burgess, who was formerly the Director General of Archaeology was appointed the Editor and Drs. E. Hultzsch and A. Fuhrer as assistant editors. The *Epigraphia Indica* was first issued in two bulky volumes with the object that it should be in continuation of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, three volumes of which were already planned. But from the third volume it began to appear in a smaller size. The high standard of scholarship was all along maintained by the learned editors. From 1920 the *Epigraphia Indica* began to be published as a Government Journal. Though *Indian Antiquary* had later on to be discontinued from 1934 the *Epigraphia Indica* has to this day been serving the cause of

Indian Epigraphy with the best possible way and keeping a very high standard of scholarship before young epigraphists under the able editorship of the Government Epigraphist.

The numerous learned Journals of Oriental Research Societies in India, Europe and America have also published a number of Indian inscriptions. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India and those of some of the former Indian States and several research Institutions in their annual reports have either noticed or published a large number of inscriptions in different scripts and languages and of different places and periods of history as can be seen from the Index volumes of the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India mentioned above. In some special publications of the Government like *Buddhist Cave temples and their inscriptions* by Burgess or *Lists of inscriptions and sketch of Dynasties of S. India* by Robert Sewell many inscriptions have appeared. In monographs of some of the most important Archaeological places like Sanchi, Buddha-Gaya, Nagarjunikonda etc. special chapters are devoted to the enumeration and study of the inscriptions found at the places. Publications solely devoted to epigraphical material were also brought out from time to time by the Government of India, by former Indian States and by foreign Governments. Mention may be made of the following: —

Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum Vols. I, II, ii, and III; *Epigraphia Indica* Vols. 1 to 27 Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy Ann. Rep. of Asst. Archl. Supt. for Epigraphy *South Indian inscriptions,* Vols 1 to 12. *Epigraphia Carnatika* Vols. 1 to 15 commencing from the year 1886. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, Epigraphia Burmaica, Epigraphia Zelonica* etc. Epigraphical publications by French and Dutch scholars and by Indian scholars like Dr. R. C. Majumadar containing inscriptions from Further India may be included in this class. Epigraphical series were issued by several Indian States like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Puducotta, Baroda, etc. and by Research Institutions like Varendra Research Society, Kannad Research Society, Andhra Research Society, Bharata Itihasa saṁśodhaka Mandala etc. Some religious establishments like the Tirupati Samsthana, Kamakoti Śankaracharya Matha, and some prominent persons like the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, Raja of Mungal, P. C. Naharmuni Jinavijayaji, B. M. Barua, Kundangar, Yazdani and Gyani etc. have published volumes containing inscriptions of a specific nature. Volumes containing inscriptions

of a particular province or locality collected by king Bodacopaya in *Inscriptions of Bengal, Inscriptions of Gujarat, Inscriptions of Kathiawad, Inscriptions of the Deccan, Inscriptions of Nellore District, Inscriptions of Upper Burma etc.*, may be mentioned. Some of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India were devoted towards the discussion of certain epigraphical subjects.

Edicts of Asoka have been the most frequently edited inscriptions in the world. They have been edited and discussed by a number of scholars—Indian as well as European, in Indian and European languages. Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription is also several times edited. Some other important inscriptions have been restudied more than once.

Bare lists of Inscriptions on some specific lines have also been published as—

List of North Indian Inscriptions by Kielhorn, revised by Bhandarkar.

List of South Indian Inscriptions by Kielhorn.

List of Brahmi Inscriptions published by Leaders in 1912 in the Eph. Ind. Vol. X.

List of inscriptions found in Burma by Duroirelle (1921).

Inscriptions of Burma (B.E. 493-599, 1131-1237 A.D.).

Descriptive list of inscriptions in C. P. by Hiralal (1904).

List of Jain inscriptions by Guerinot.

Epitaphs on tombs and monuments in different provinces in India.

The list of inscriptions copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy Madras, since its inception upto 1938.

Subject Index to Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy from 1887 to 1936.

Chronological Index of Pallava Inscriptions by Gopalan.

The Index volumes which were a laborious task of great magnitude are extremely useful as Hand Books to a student of South Indian Epigraphy and also to the public connected with the management of the numerous temples in South India.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Vols. 1 to 15 and by the Bombay Historical Society gives an yearly account of the discovery and publication of inscriptions, along with that in certain other fields of Oriental research.

As epigraphical studies are impossible without the help of books on Indian Palaeography and the Tables of the Scripts, books on the subject prepared by Dr. Buhler, Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha, Dr. Burnell etc., are invaluable. Dr. R. B. Pande's recent book on Indian Palaeography and C. Shivarammurti's book on Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts are useful additions.

Invaluable service has been rendered to the cause of Indian Epigraphy and Chronology by D. B. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai whose seven big volumes of *Indian Ephemiris* (Madras, 1922) compiled with very great pains is a monumental work which can never be dispensed with when the question of finding equivalents in the Christian era of any date cited in inscriptions arises.

Chronology of ancient India by Miss C. Mabel Duff and *Chronology of Modern India* by Burgess compiled with the help of epigraphs are very useful for the study of Epigraphy.

Although so many and so valuable publications on Indian epigraphical material have been published the necessity of bringing out more and more new publications and revised editions of old publications is always felt. In fact there is plenty of both original research and revisional work to be done in connection with epigraphical records. Firstly because the epigraphical material discovered so far is so abundant specially of South India that not even one half of it has yet been published. Secondly the readings of inscriptions and the meanings of certain terms and expressions require to be thoroughly revised in the light of researches so far made. Thirdly most of the volumes are very costly and also have gone out of stock.

Accordingly some volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum are being revised and some are being newly prepared.

Future work in Epigraphy

The Government Epigraphist, it is learnt, intends to republish some of the back volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica* as they are unavailable. The idea is no doubt praiseworthy. Not only such old rare volumes should be republished but some new volumes

containing all the relevant inscriptions published in scattered places at different times e.g., in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India or in different Journals should be re-edited in some systematic form.

The urgent need of a student of Epigraphy is of the upto-date lists of North Indian and South Indian inscriptions with a more detailed note on each inscription.

A more useful way of preparing upto-date lists of inscriptions would probably be to bring out "Dynastic Lists of Inscriptions" accompanied by genealogical tables rather than provincial lists like Inscriptions of Bengal, Inscriptions of Gujarat etc., though in some cases the Dynastic and provincial lists may not overlap each other. How the provincial lists are unnecessary can be seen from one or two instances. Take for instance the inscriptions of Gujarat by which province I mean the United Provinces of Kuch, Saurashtra and the mainland of Gujarat. These lists will have to include one inscription of Asoka, one inscription of Skandgupta, two inscriptions of Gurjara-Paratiharas who ruled over Gujarat from outside simply because their inscriptions were found in Gujarat. Similarly two Maitrak plates found at Rutlam in Madhya Bharat and some Chaulukya inscriptions of Siddharaja and Kumerapāla found in Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan will have to be included in these volumes because these inscriptions though they are from outside Gujarat belong to the Gujarat rulers who were great conquerers.

It may therefore be preferable to prepare such conpendiums as inscriptions of the Vākātakas, of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, of the Paramaras of Malva, of the Yadavas of the Deccan, of the Palas of Bengal, of the Gangas of Orissa etc.

A corpus of Provincial inscriptions will however be useful in the case of inscriptions in countries like Nepal, Ceylon, Java, Cambodia etc.

Very little attention has been so far given to the collection and publication of inscriptions in provincial scripts and languages, probably because they are comparatively of a modern date and are of an inferior quality as compared with the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions of an All-India nature. But these inscriptions besides being useful for the local history which is otherwise not known from

other sources are useful to trace the rise and growth of the different provincial languages in India. Much useful work in this direction is being done in Maharashtra for Marathi inscriptions by Prof. Tulpule of the Poona University and in Orissa for Oriya inscriptions particularly by Prof. K. B. Tripathi of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack who is editing the Oriya inscriptions in a volume.

As some of the epigraphical records are of considerable literary and religious merit, Selections from Inscriptions such as Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Selections from Pali and Prakrit inscriptions, Selections from Kannad, Tamil and Telugu inscriptions and Selections from Buddhist, or Jain or Muslim Inscriptions require to be published so that students of the respective literatures and religious sects may be drawn to the study of Epigraphy. Selections of this kind by Parab, Diskalkar and D. C. Sarkar have already been published with the object of showing the literary value of inscriptions. But many more publications of this kind containing as many inscriptions of literary merit as possible require to be published. *Epigraphical echo's of Kalidas* by Shivrammurti is an important publication based on a critical study of inscriptions of literary merit. It aims at showing how the epigraphical poets borrowed not only ideas but even expressions from earlier Sanskrit Poets like Valmiki, Kalidas etc. Similarly a Descriptive List of Poets known from Inscriptions requires to be compiled. But the most valuable work for our knowledge of the Literary History of India would be the writing of a History of Indian Epigraphical Literature.

Besides the work of preparing compendiums of dynastic inscriptions and of descriptive lists of inscriptions, a number of monographs on different subjects based on the epigraphical material require to be undertaken. For it is well-known that the inscriptions are a mine of trust-worthy information about any line of inquiry of general historical interest. Special attention may however be drawn to the necessity of preparing descriptive lists of technical terms relating to different subjects. Inscriptions supply us with innumerable technical terms which were in use in ancient India for a long time but most of which are now out of use. With the advent of independence and the consequent revival of the ancient Indian Culture in its various aspects there is naturally a tendency to find out suitable ancient Indian terms in place of the

Muslim and British terms as far as possible. There is therefore ample scope for research work in this line.

A treatise on the lists of sacred places of the Hindus, Jainas, and Buddhists mentioned in inscriptions and some more on the Gotras and Pravaras of the Brahmanas and the sects and subsects of the Buddhists and Jainas mentioned in inscriptions are some of the compilations which deserve to be undertaken to give an idea of the different aspects of ancient Indian culture.

A list of Buddhist stupas and monasteries not only in India but out of India, known from literature and inscriptions, will be of immense value to the student of ancient Indian history and culture especially to a student of Buddhist religion.

The above survey of the progress of Indian epigraphy during the last 170 years and the lines of future research would show that Epigraphy is a progressive science. The epigraphist has been assisting the historian by providing new material, adding to his knowledge and correcting and checking a number of events the historians have compiled with the help of annals, coins etc. As there are still numerous lacuna to be filled before we can reconstruct a continuous chronological narrative of events in history the historian looks to the epigraphists with the hope that he may come to his help whenever he requires it.

Thus Dr. Fleet's remarks in the concluding portion of his brilliant essay on Epigraphy published 44 years back in the Imperial Gazetteer that there is plenty of both original research and revisional work still to be done in connection with and by the help of epigraphists still hold good.

Qualifications of an Epigraphist

All this work cannot be done but by devoted and competent epigraphists. It is not easy to be an epigraphist. What necessary qualifications are required of a good editor of inscriptions can be seen from the statement of Dr. Hultzsch in his Preface to Volume I of the South Indian Inscriptions. He states there "Good linguistic attainments and careful training in methods followed by English school of Classical Philology and before all earnest and patient desire for truth, the object of all science, are required". As the authors of inscriptions were sometimes good students of Sanskrit

literature and Hindu mythology, from which they have liberally drawn, as shown by C. Shivarammurti, it may be said that a student of Indian Epigraphy must have a sound knowledge of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, their literatures and the literary and religious traditions of the country. How, for instance, the knowledge of a *stotra* like the *Vishnusahasranāma* is useful for the correct understanding of some of the epithets of the Gupta emperors used in their coins and inspirations is nicely shown by Dr. Chhabra. (J. N. S. I. 9-137). The same is the case with South Indian Epigraphy which cannot be properly studied, as shown by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Hultzsch, without a thorough knowledge of the South Indian languages and South Indian history and culture.

Dr. Buhler's memorandum dated 19th Nov. 1897 addressed to Don Martino de Zilva Wickramasinghe of Ceylon for his guidance in epigraphical work and published in the *Epigraphia Zelonica* Vol. I. p. III, gives the directions as to how the Epigraphical work should be begun after the necessary qualifications are attained.

"The first principle in modern epigraphic research is that all inscriptions should be reproduced by purely mechanical means. All eye copies and tracings have been discarded, and it is no longer considered permissible to whitewash or to paint the letters of inscriptions in black before they are photographed, or to restore by hand doubtful and illegible signs. All such proceedings are misleading, and reproductions which have been prepared in this manner are rejected by all epigraphists as absolutely useless. The materials, which should be placed by the collector before the epigraphists should give the documents exactly as they are, with all the imperfections which they exhibit in their natural state. The only means by which perfectly faithful reproductions can be obtained, are impressions or estampages, taken according to Dr. Burgess's method (to the exclusion of all pencil rubbings) and photographs. As the photographs only show the surface, not the depth of the strokes, they are inferior to impressions, which besides, if taken properly, give at the back of the paper the letters in relievo. Hence the latter should be taken always in a number of copies whenever this is possible. It will however do no harm if photographs are taken in addition to the "impressions" as occasionally single letters, or portions of letters, are not caught properly by the paper. Inscriptions with very shallow letters, or such as are

situated in inaccessible places, can of course only be photographed. The new telephotographic apparatus should be used for inscriptions on which an ordinary camera cannot be brought to bear. Before impressions of stone inscriptions are taken, the stones should be washed with water in order to remove any dirt or dust which may stick in the letters. Copper plates, covered with verdigris, should be cleaned by an immersion in lime juice. The plate should be placed in a shallow bath of white metal, and should be covered by the juice. It may remain immersed according to the circumstances of the case, for twenty-four hours or more. But it should be cleaned at the end of the immersion and during it from time to time, with a tooth brush. In giving photozincographs or autotypes prepared from impressions or photographs, the greatest caution is necessary to prevent the introduction of any improvement by the photographer or the corrector of the proofs."

On rare occasions however eye copies were preferred to impressions when it was found difficult to get adequately good 'paper squeezes' in damaged state of the rock walls and the honeycombed surface over which they were carved. (J.B.B.R.A.S., VI).

A good epigraphist with the necessary qualifications cannot be prepared unless there is a provision of epigraphical studies in the Universities. Epigraphy being the basis of history and culture of India including Greater India, in various aspects like political history, administrative machinery, religious and social institutions, etc., epigraphy should form one of the compulsory subjects in the course of Sanskrit at the B.A. Examination at the Universities so that a knowledge of inscriptions found in different parts of India can be acquired.

It is gratifying to see that now-a-days Ancient Indian History and Culture forms one of the subjects at the B.A. and M.A. examinations in several Universities. Epigraphy should therefore form one of the compulsory papers at these examinations. Similarly, Epigraphy should form one of the compulsory papers at the M.A. in Sanskrit also at the University. For it is now admitted that a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions are of high literary value. It is therefore quite necessary that like other classical works of Sanskrit the inscriptions deserve to be studied by the Sanskrit students. This is possible only when epigraphy is made one of the compulsory subjects in Sanskrit at the M.A.

At the Ph.D., epigraphy should be considered as a subject falling not only under ancient Indian history and culture but also under the language group.

At the under-graduate stage, a few epigraphical selections may form a part of the syllabus in Sanskrit, Prakrit and regional languages.

Asiatic Society of India

Since as shown above the study of Indian epigraphy has become an integral part of the Epigraphical studies in the world it may be suggested that the Asiatic Society which was founded in Calcutta in 1784 with the object of inquiring into the history, antiquity, arts, science and literature of Asia and which has done so much in the cause should continue to form a nucleus not only for all Indological studies, but for all Asiatic studies. It should not restrict its activities to Bengal or to India alone. Calcutta's claims for such a central place for Oriental research in Asia will not be questioned. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society may not have any objection to be a branch of this Asiatic Society rather than of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Similarly Madras, Delhi, Patna, Banaras etc., which have already developed Oriental Research centres at their places should have similar branches of this Asiatic Society. The Society should also establish its branches in all the countries in Asia. The Journal of the Society should contain papers relating to Archaeology, History, Art, Religion etc., practically to all the subjects which the now defunct *Indian Antiquary* used to contain. It should also be its aim to supplement the various Journals now being published about Asia from various countries by directing the attention of its readers to the best articles of research in each of them.

Who is a Qalandar ?

BY

DR. MAHAMMAD TAGI AHMAD

Professor Mohammad Habib has in an article on "Chishti Mystic records of the Sultanate period" published in "Medieval India Quarterly' (Vol. I, No. 2) elucidated the term "Qalandar" in Footnote 3 on pages 3 and 4. We do not want to say anything about the article itself but confine ourselves to certain observations on the views expressed in the Footnote.

(A) The footnote begins with the following extract—"Literally, the Qalandar is a person who is rude in behaviour, uncouth in manners and free from this world and the world hereafter." (Nurul Lughat). We could not trace out the above extract, but find the following passage on page 680:—

"QALANDAR (in Persian Kalandar)—(literal—a rough log of wood)—(coloquial—uncouth, free of care, unmindful of consequences)—(special significance—a person who in his spiritual development has reached the stage when he becomes indifferent towards his own self and worldly connections and is wholly engrossed in God. Free, Care-free."

Further, on page 498 a Qalandar is said to be "Free from connections of both the worlds."

Nurul Lughat is an Urdu dictionary and not a book of reference for Sufistic terminology. Of course, in Urdu slang the word Qalandar has acquired a bad conotation and is used for 'Madari' or street acrobat, but such metamorphosis is quite common. Mir Shikar (a high official of the State) is now used for a pimp. Such cases, in which the origin and early history of words is almost obliterated or disfigured are not very uncommon in Urdu.

(B) At another place, Burhan Qāti' (page 184) has been quoted; and the reason for the Qalandar's disregard for Shariat is said to be—

"The reason of their violation of Shariat was that they claimed that their object was Allah and their hearts were always devoted to Him." (Medieval India Quarterly, page 3).

We do not find the above quotation on page 184 of either of the two volumes of Burhan Qāti'. On page 214 (Vol. 2), however, the Qalandar is described as follows:—

"Qalandar—similar to Samandar—is a person who having discarded and purified himself from formalities, deeds and actions which retard spiritual development and having elevated himself to the rank of 'Soul' has become free from formal connections and names. He has separated himself from all others, has withdrawn his hand from everything and has cut himself off—heart and soul—from every one and having become a seeker of the beauty and grandeur of God has reached the self of God. Such a person has no inclination towards the world or its people. If he has, he is not a Qalandar but a man of pride."

How did the author of the article jump to the conclusion that *"the reason for their (Qalandars') violation of Shariat was that they claimed that their object was Allah"* is simply a wonder. Burhan, as quoted above, gives absolutely no ground for this. It extols the Qalandar as a "Seeker of the beauty and grandeur of God", whereas the author depreciates him for 'the violation of Shariat.' Burhan's words that he is a man of pride and not a Qalandar if he has not absolutely purified himself from all actions which retard spiritual development, are exactly opposed to the conclusions drawn by the author. He gives a Qalandar, the character of an impostor or a false mystic which is absolutely unsupported by the sources he has quoted, namely Burhan Qāti' and Nurul Lughat.

(C) The footnote says that there is considerable difference among writers about the place and time of origin of the order. Many believe that the order 'originated in Central Asia in the sixth century of our (Muslim) era' and that either 'Yusuf—a Spanish Arab of Egypt or Mufti Sheikh Jamaluddin Saoji' was the founder of the Silsilah.

The records of the Qalandaria Silsilah are unanimous that the Silsilah started during the life time of our Prophet from Sheikh Abdul Aziz Makki well-known as Abdullah Alambardar. The

Sheikh is said to have waited for the advent of our Prophet to become his disciple. He accepted Islam and became one of the 'Ashabe Suffa' a group of indigent Muslims who had no independent means of livelihood, and who received spiritual training direct from the Prophet. The title of Qalandar was given by the Prophet to Sheikh Abdul Aziz after he had reached a high stage of spiritual development. Sheikh Abdul Aziz generally remained in the state of *Sukr* (unconsciousness) for long periods at a time and roamed about in various countries of the world during the period of respite. He avoided mixing with people and so did his disciples. This was why the number of his disciples was limited. For the last time, it is said, he returned to consciousness in the time of Sheikh Bahauddin Zakaria Multani (died 665 A.H.,—1266A.D.) and Sheikh Fariduddin Shakarganj (died 666 A.H.,—1267 A.D.).

One of the chief disciples of Abdul Aziz Makki, was Sayyad Khizr Roomi, who remained with his teacher during his travels and was himself a traveller till the end of his life. He also visited India and died in 750 A.H. (1349 A.D.) and is buried in Khandesh (Malwa). He received training in the principles of Chishtia Silsilah from Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtyar Kaki (died 633 A.H.,—1236 A.D.), who in turn received Qalandaria Khirqah from Khizr Roomi Qalandar.

One of the chief disciples of Khizr Roomi Qalandar was Sayyad Najumuddin Ghaus-ud-dahr Qalandar. He was born in India and died in 837 A.H.,—1433 A.D. He also was a constant traveller all his life, and after visiting a number of countries, died at Mando (Malwa).

From the above, it would be clear that the first three *Peers* of Qalandaria Silsilah who lived upto 837 A.H. (1433 A.D.), had no fixed abode, no distinctive dress and no Khanqah for training their disciples whom they trained either during their journeys or whereever they found them. Some of their disciples also were constantly on the move and were travelling missionaries of the Silsilah. This probably explains that the order came "to India long before the Muslim conquest, and was fairly well established in the reign of Altamash", and existed "in all countries of the East—in the lands of the Arabian as well as the Persian and the Turkish tongues before the fourth century."

(D) In the footnote it is said—"Many of their (Qalandars') customs are unexplainable except as continuance of Hindu and Buddhist traditions specially the traditions of Hinayana Buddhist Sangars."

No reason has been given for the above remarks. Probably the author's ignorance of Qalandaria practices is responsible for this leap in the dark.

The Zikr and Fikr of the Qalandars and their ascetic practices are quite different from Hindu and Buddhist practices. Their aim is quite different and their methods also vastly differ from the practices prevalent in other religions.

The view expressed in the footnote is similar to that voiced by the *Quraish* who called the Prophet a *Sabi* because the form of his prayer was similar to the actions of *Sabis*.

(E) The footnote further says—"the order has some special features of its own which distinguish it very definitely from other orders." The special features are said to be:—

(1) "It is necessary for its members to shave off their heads, eyebrows, beards and moustaches." "This was the practice of the order from the time of Sheikh Jamaluddin Saoji."

This gives rise to two different questions. The first is—was Sheikh Saoji the founder of the Qalandaria order?

As already pointed out, this view is not supported by the Qalandaria sources. We cannot discuss it fully as the learned writer of the note is significantly silent about Sheikh Saoji's date. In the absence of chronological data, one is inclined to fall upon the date (604 A.H.,—1207 A.D.) given by Sh. Ghulam Ali in his work 'Murad-ul-muridin'.

Now, if Sheikh Saoji lived in 604 A.H., he cannot be regarded the founder of the Qalandaria order, because the author definitely says that the order was fairly well established before the fourth century.

Another point against this assertion (Sheikh Saoji was the founder) is that Sheikh Saoji belonged to the Taifuria order. He was directly or indirectly connected with Sheikh Bayazid Bustami the well-known saint after whom the order is named.

Then, the next question is about the practice of shaving off the beard, etc. Here also, the writer's remarks that it dates from 'the days of Sheikh Saoji' lacks chronological precision and makes it impossible to examine the statement with accuracy. Unlike the founders of other Sufistic orders, Sheikh Saoji is not a well-known figure. Attar, Jami and Sheikh Abdul Haq do not mention his name. Bahr Zakhkhar too, repeats some legends and gives some eulogistic or high-sounding titles, useless for our purpose. The Qalandaria records alone give some help.

The first thing they reveal is that Sheikh Jamal Mujarrad Saoji was a saint of the Taifuria order. As already pointed out, he had nothing to do with the Qalandaria Silsilah or its origin.

How then did his practices get associated with the Qalandaria order? This is a puzzle, which is, however, solved in the light of the Qalandaria records. They say that one of the early saints of the Qalandaria order (Sheikh Abdul Aziz Makki or Sheikh Khizr Roomi) was initiated in the Taifuria Silsilah by Sheikh Jamal Saoji.

Now, Sheikh Abdul Aziz Makki enjoyed a long life and naturally dropped his hair as a mark of old age. So, he developed a physical likeness with Sheikh Jamal Saoji.

One gets the clue by putting together all these facts namely:—

(1) Sheikh Jamal Saoji practised halq.

(2) The Qalandars had received the Taifuria order from Sheikh Saoji.

(3) The Qalandars, for a part of their life only, developed a physical likeness to Sheikh Saoji.

Halq was a personal idiosyncracy. It had nothing to do with any order. But, the early Qalandar's physical likeness to Sheikh Saoji fastened it upon them.

Hence, in certain less informed circles, merely superficial factors came to be recognised as basic elements and the early Qalandars' (one of whom was the founder of the order) association and their own physical likeness with Sheikh Saoji combined to give rise to this fiction.

Lastly, for the sake of argument, let us take for granted that some of these early Qalandars intentionally adopted the likeness

of their preceptor Sheikh Saoji. Even then, the practice cannot be called Qalandari. It was a Taifuri saint who began it and therefore it should be labelled as Taifuri. Another point is that since the days of Sayyad Najmuddin Ghausuddahr (died 837 A.H., or the 15th century A.D.), not a single Qalandar shaved off his beard, moustaches, eye-brows, etc. We possess authentic and unequivocal evidence about all the saints of the order (Sheikh Qutbuddin Bina dil, Sheikh Abdus Salam, Shah Maja Qalandar, Sheikh Fateh Qalandar and so many others during these 500 years) who always kept a Sharai beard. In case Halq was a Qalandari practice, it must have been followed by all and sundry and not only by one or two exceptions with whom it was merely a freak of nature.

(2) "that its members (Qalandars) did not wear the mystic Khirqa and generally wrapped their bodies or loins with a piece of blanket or cloth." "They usually lived on the charities of others, had no private propety except their personal belongings and were always celibates."

This is true. As already pointed out, the founder of the Qalandaria Silsilah (Sheikh Abdul Aziz Makki) was one of the Ashab-e-suffah, who were very poor and lived on charity. After the time of the Prophet, the Sheikh was either in *Sukr* (unconscious) or roamed about in the known world. He could not, therefore, adopt the robes (Khirqa) like the propagators of other Silsilahs who had fixed abodes, monastries, mixed with people, lived in towns and cities, and preached to the people from there. Sheikh Abdul Aziz lived away from the people, was a wanderer and could not, by the very nature of the life he led, afford to appear in the distinctive dress of the pious people. He put on what he got, and his disciples followed his example and lived a life similar to that of their teacher. These disciples also were wanderers and could hardly afford a married life and naturally remained celibates. Their mental state also did not allow them to adopt a profession to support themselves or their families. This was changed when the Qalandars started their Khankah etc., subsequently.

(3) "There were many among them who put on collars and bracelets of iron and were called Hyderia." This was the custom only among some of the small sub-sections of the Qalandaria Silsilah and was adopted by the propagandists of those sub-sections

and cannot be called a special feature of the entire Qalandaria Silsilah.

So far we have dealt with a number of points raised in the footnote. But, some are still left out. These may be enumerated as below:—

(4) (a) "Unlike the mystics, the Qalandars were neither ascetics nor devotees. They were very irregular in their religious observances, whether compulsory or supererogatory and often ignored them altogether." (b) "Even those Qalandars who said their prayers, with some exceptions did not believe in offering prayers in congregation" and (c) "they were rude in their manners, lacked politeness and were notorious for their uncouth behaviour, abusive language and hot temper."

In order to dispel these wrong notions and to arrive at a correct definition of 'Qalandar', we place before the reader a dozen extracts from authoritative Sufistic writings of eminent saints of various orders. Out of them only *one* is by a saint of the Qalandaria order. The rest belong to other Silsilah—four from the Chishtis, four from Qadris and two from Naqshbandis. This is to ensure that the choice is free from sectional bias.

I. Sheikh Shahabuddin Sohrwardy (Qadri), (died 632 A.H., 1234 A.D.), in chapter 9 (page 41) of 'Awarif-ul-maarif says: —

> "Qalandar belongs to that group of people who have reached a stage of complete bliss of soul and peace of mind, to the extent that they disregard formalities and ceremonials. They move not in the company of worldly people and remain happy in their experiences of the spiritual realm. They do not indulge in excessive prayers and ascetic practices, but confine themselves to the obligatory part of religious observances only. They hesitate in making use of amenities of life. They do not make much of pious inspirations and deeds. They hoard not worldly riches and covet not for more. They are not like ascetics and recluses in their attitude towards life. They are content with the bliss they enjoy from their nearness to God. The difference between 'Qalandar' and 'Malamati' is that the Malamati conceals his observances whereas the Qalandar is indifferent either to their concealment or display. A

Malamati seeks greatness (of soul) by doing good and abstaining from evil, but he hides his efforts from the common eye. In his outward appearance and behaviour, he lives like the common man, so that no one may discover his spiritual state. All the while he seeks spiritual progress and constantly strives to get closer to God. The Qalandar, on the other hand, is not bound by these limitations. He cares little whether any body knows him or not. His only wealth is his spiritual bliss and tranquility of soul."

II. Mahmud ibn Ali Kashani (Qadri), the author of an abstract of 'Awarif-ul-marif' named 'Misbahul Hidayat (Chapter X, pages 85-93) divides Sufis, in the mystic heirarchy, into 3 classes— the 'Waselin', 'Salikin' and 'Muqiman.'

He further classifies Salikin into 'Malamatiya' and 'Mutasawwif'. Along with Malamatiyas, he mentions Qalandars and has, in a very meaningful language, given the characteristics of this class of mystics. He mentions Qalandars as one of the right-principled groups.

This signifies that the word Qalandar had a special connotation and was understood to mean one of the important mystic groups of right-principled seekers of God.

On page 87 Malamatiyas are defined in the following terms:—

> "But Malamatiyas are a group which concentrate their efforts mainly to fulfil all the rules and canons of sincerity and truth. They consider it obligatory to conceal from the public eye their good actions and their obedience to God. They do not leave out any details or ingredients of good action and consider it necessary to carry out the supererogatory prayers and other actions necessary for high spiritual attainments. Their creed is to fulfil at all times the details of sincerity and their taste is to conceal from public gaze their actions and mental condition. They try to hide their sincere obedience to the laws of God in the same way as a criminal tries to conceal his guilt from the public. They do this so that there is no breach in the observation of rules of sincerity."

III. Sheikh Abu Bakr Jami (Naqshbandi), (died 717 A.H., 1317 A.D.) in his celebrated work 'Nafahat-ul-uns'

Chapter (3), page 7, reiterates exactly the views expressed by Sheikh Shahabuddin Sohrwardy. Like him, he divides 'salikin' into Malamatiya' and Mutasawwif and says:—

> "Most of the right-principled mystics belong to the Malamatiya group. They care not whether they rise or fall in the estimation of the people of the world. Often their deliberate effort is to cast off formalities and discard ceremonials. Their only concern is to maintain a composure in all circumstances, and to remain unruffled. They do not indulge in the practices of ascetics and devotees. They do not perform optional prayers in abundance. They rely not on pious deeds. They only adhere to obligatory prayers. They give up the idea of worldly acquisition and are calm and content and do not care for more. They are named Qalandars. Such people resemble Malamatiyas in freeing themselves from the least shade of cant and hypocrisy. The difference between the Malamatiya and Qalandar is that while a Malamatiya observes all the optional and obligatory prayers but conceals them from the common eye, a Qalandar, on the other hand, observes only obligatory prayers and is not concerned with either the concealment or display of these observances."

IV. Mohiuddin ibn Arabi in his Commentary on the first portion of the verse 196, Sura ii of the Quran, says: (page 78):—

> "After having crossed all the mystic stages and experiences through *Suluk* towards God and in God perform the ceremonies of *'Tauhid Zat'* and *'Umra'* of 'Tauhid Sifat'. If during the performance of this pilgrimage, you are beset with the wild and refractory self, sacrifice whatever may seem convenient—wage a crusade against your bestial self, that is, offer it on the altar of Heart. The attributes of self in various people differ from one another in their capacities and characteristics. Some are like docile animals and others like wild beasts hard to control and curb. So, sacrifice whichever is easy. Do not shave off your heads until you can keep that mystic temper in which you are able to maintain a serenity of soul; and shed off all disturbances, worries, grief and numerous other distractions and tumults of the soul. *This is the Qalandar's creed and his mode of Suluk.*"

V. Khwaja Obaidullah Ahrar, the well-known saint of the Naqshbandias, in his 'Fiqrat Ahrar' (mss., Kutub Khana Anwaria, Kakori), says:—

> "*Qalandari* is the detachment of one's self from hindrances, by shedding off all that is from one's own self and sustaining all that is divine, and by reducing oneself to the extent that whatever efforts one makes to regain one's self may prove futile. Once a disciple of Sheikh Zunnun asked Abu Yazid about him. He replied, "It is thirty years since I have been searching for Bayazid but find him not. If you can, do search him out."

Abu Yazid's remarks are significant. The Qalandar's abrogation of self reaches a stage where he completely detaches himself from all that is ungodly. It is due to this attitude of intense and complete obscurity that the Qalandars choose to remain unknown, and the worldly people fail to appreciate their lofty spiritual status.

VI. Sheikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi (Qadri) writing about his father, Maulana Saifuddin, in 'Akhbar-ul-akhyar' (page 282) says:—

> "That once he (Maulana Saifuddin) said that he did not perform optional prayers and ascetic practices that are usually practised by those who follow the mystic way. What he himself acted upon were the principles of humility, self-effacement, remorse and repentance. One day the subject of the Qalandaria creed, namely, that they cared only for obligatory prayers and not for the optionals, devoted their hearts with fullest composure towards God and extricated themselves from customery practices and formalities, was discussed in his presence. In this connection he said I am insignificant but if I would follow any creed it would be Qalandaria."

The above passage shows definitely the leanings of the Maulana towards the Qalandaria creed and that he considered it as the ideal which he obviously preferred to adopt.

VII. 'Lataif Ashrafi' written by Nizam Yamani (Chishti) records as follows:—

> "According to this Darvesh who is named Ashraf (Jahangir Samnani), the Qalandar is one who has completely detach-

ed himself from all worldly affinities and ties and has, in his outward and inward self, attained Tajreed and Tafreed.

A Qalandar does not leave out any of the intricate points of Shariat or Haqiqat. He is a swimmer of the sea of *Shahood* and is beset on all sides by the river of *Wajud.*

VIII. In 'Maqsoodul-talibin' (mss. in Kutub Khana Anwaria, Kakori). Diwan Abdul Rashid Jaunpuri (Chishti) explains the term 'Qalandar' thus:—

"A Qalandar is a person who has freed himself from all the vestiges of formalism and has cast off everything that attaches him to this world and its people. A Qalandar is one who has become indifferent to formal and habitual practices and has purified himself completely. His soul has reached its full spiritual height. He is one who has turned his face from the emoluments of both the worlds and sees everything for God, of God and from God, and has extricated his self from all things that separate it from God. He is always after Divine Beauty, has fallen in love with the 'Perfect Being' and has reached his goal. He has extricated himself from the trammels of 'self', passion and knowledge and permanently enjoys complete spiritual bliss."

Evidently, this is the highest pitch of spiritual experience that can ever fall to the lot of a mystic and is, therefore, the highest ideal of a Sufi.

IX. In 'Murad-ul-mridin' (mss—Kutub Khana Anwaria, Kakori), its author Murad Ali, a disciple of Sheikh Taqi Qalandar, observes:—

"A Sufi in his final accomplishment or attainment becomes a Qalandar. Therefore, whatever is the ultimate ideal of a Sufi, it is but the starting point of a Qalandar. Hazrat Shah Maja Qalandar in one of his letters writes—"Qalandar is one who surpasses all the various stages in mystic evolution. When Sheikh Abdul Aziz Makki attained that stage, the Holy Prophet conferred on him the title of Qalandar. In 'Suryani' the term Qalandar is used as one of the names of God. The Qalandaria order has its origin from Sheikh Abdul Aziz Makki, and those who are enlisted in his order are called Qalandars."

It is worthwhile pointing out that the Qalandar's state is considered by the author as the last stage of mystic evolution.

X. Sheikh Qutb Jamal Hansvi (Chishti) in his book 'Matloob-ut-talibin' writes:—

> "In every mystic order whoever attains the status of 'Abdal' becomes a Qalandar."

XI. Sheikh Mohiuddin ibn Arabi (Qadri) in his 'Futuhat Makkia' (Volume III, Chapter 309, page 44) speaking about Malamatiyas (which include Qalandars) says:—

> "This status in mystic creed (Malamatiya) is the assignment of the Holy Prophet and Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddiq. Among them (Qalandars) are also Sheikh Hamdan-ul-Qasar, Abu Said-il-Kharaz, Abu Yazid Bustami, and my humble self. Among my contemporaries, attaining this mystic stage I count Abu Masood ibn Shibl, Abdul Qadir Jili Mohammad Ali Ayyani, Salehul Barbari, Abu Abdullah Ashrafi, Yusuf Shahrbali, Yusuf ibn Taharoo, Ibn Jadunil Hanawi who was one of the four *'Autads'*, Mohammad ibn Qasim, Abu Abdullah ibnul Mujahid, Abdullah bin Takhmashit, Abu Abdullah Mahdani, Abdullah-il-Qattan and Abul Abbas Hissar. My treatise cannot be complete unless I mention them."

XII. Sheikh Abdur Rahman Chishti names some of the 'Qalandar-mashrab' saints who belong to different groups, and in his work 'Mirat-ul-asrar' (mss—Kutub Khana Anwaria, Kakori), observes: —

> "Some Sufis belonging to different groups adopt the Qalandaria creed, and Mohammad Qalandar and his numerous disciples followed this eminent creed. Others who followed it were Shah Hyder Qalandar, Shah Husain Qalandar and his disciples, Sheikh Shamsuddin Tabrezi and Maulana Roomi, and also other godly people like Sheikh Fariduddin Attar, Fakhruddin Iraqi, Khwaja Ishaq Maghrabi and Khwaja Haiz Shirazi. Similarly, many other eminent personalities of every Khanwadah or group are Qalandars by creed So are most of the 'Abdals' who constantly strive to embellish or beautify their inner self. Sheikh Bu Ali Qalandar also belonged to this creed. Among the Khalifas of Sheikh Fari-

duddin Ganjshakar, Ali Ahmad Sabir and his Khalifa Sheikh Shamsuddin Turk were Qalandars. Sayyad Mohammad Gesodaraz also belonged to this creed and Meer Sayyad Mohammad Makki, one of the most eminent disciples of Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh Dehli also followed the same way. Khwaja Masood Bek, the disciple and Khalifa of Sheikh Ruknuddin (son of Sheikh Shahabuddin, the Imam of Sultan-ul-mashayakh) was also a Qalandar by creed. Sheikh Abdul Haq Rudaulav also belonged to this high and eminent group. Sheikh Niamatullah Wali in his 'Resala-e-Qalandaria observes that a Sufi in his final stage becomes a Qalandar. His only Zikr; is God, and for him the whole world becomes a reality. The *Deen* (creed or cult) of a Qalandar is all wisdom or all knowledge and he subdues everything with his spiritual power. The world of a Qalandar is complete detachment which opens for him the vista of Tauheed (oneness). His knowledge is (forgetfulness) and his actions are effacement of self. Qalandar is immersed in divine love. (Love is God): Shah Husain Balkhi says—'Qalandar defies all description and is beyond all linguistic exposition'." "

The above quotations from twelve authentic Sufistic writings of different Silsilahs fully explain the creed of a Qalandar and his spiritual greatness.

Besides, the passages quoted above refute the charges levelled against the Qalandar. We have, thus, placed before the reader, the opinions of the most renowned and erudite Sufis like Sheikh Shahabuddin Sohrawardy, Ibn Arabi, Maulana Jami and Khwaja Ahrar, to prove that Ibn Batuta, Maqrezi and other authorities are not worth consideration.

Sheikh Jamal Hansvi (N) says that most Abdals are Qalandars. The author of Mirat ul Asrar (a Sufi saint of Chishtia order) believes that the highest stage of Sufistic evolution is 'Qalandariat'.

These opinions are shared by numerous other mystic authors.

Common-sense also dictates that an order as old as the 4th century could not live upto this day if it was a group of "rude, ill-mannered, hot tempered, impolite, uncouth" imposters "living on the charity of others". We offer no apology for a majdhoob

or any particular person who may be ill-mannered or uncouth, but the entire Qalandaria order, obviously, could not be characterised as such. If the Chishtis commanded in their rank eminent saints like Sheikh Nizamuddin, the Sohrwardis like Sheikh Zakaria Multani, the Naqshbandis like Khwaja Ahrar, the Qalandaria order would die unwept if it had false mystics and impostors alone to support it.

Now, concluding the dissertation, I may repeat Sheikh Ibn Arabi's words that is "The Prophet's own stage" in order to point out that the Qalandar's stage was the highest. For him the cynosure was divine love, intense and self-annihilating, and he kept himself pinned to this lofty ideal alone. He scrupulously abstained from all shades of saintliness.

Still he remained ever conscious of his earthly nature. Like the Great Prophet, he kept his miraculous energy in abeyance. Although possessing uncommon spiritual powers, he never behaved super-human.

Certainly, he suffered from oblivion and remained neglected. Far from the madding crowds, he was seldom noticed by a contemporary chronicler. A credulous historian never attributed unforeseen events to him. He chose a neglected spot or moved about in horror of saintly renown.

But, this noiseless tenor of life gave him respite. A noble rage burnt in him and a celestial fire constantly urged him to follow his quest of *haqiqat.*

His was a queer path and a strange way, different from the common run. Defamed he may be for his outward behaviour, yet he was always highly respected by those who possessed right perception and real insight. Not discerned by the ignorant, his stirling virtues were ever detected by mystic experts and critics like Jami.

His spiritual eminence placed him so high that he might be called a prince of mystics—

To say, therefore, that a Qalandar deliberately violated Shariat or refused to keep a Sharai beard is absolutely baseless, and to theorise that the Qalandaria practices were derived from Maha-

yana Buddhism or Hinduism, that is, they were extra-Islamic is certainly a wilful distortion of facts.

P.S.—After finishing this article, I had an access to two of the sources mentioned in the foot-note, namely:—

(1) Khairul Majalis.

(2) Encyclopaedia of Islam.

In No. (1)—*Khairul Majalis* of Hamid Qalander, there is nothing definite which depreciates the Qalander. On the other hand, the following casual remarks indicate the high status of the Qalander, unmistakably:—

"The Qalander was 'Abdal' in character" (a)

that all 'Abdal' are Qalanders.

This may be compared with Sheikh Jamal Hansvi's remark "A Qalander . . . . enveloped in spiritual splendour from his head upwards to the sky". What a stamp of liberty or emancipation do they possess! (b)

Here 'azadi' has the same meaning as tajrid which is the distinctive features of a Qalander's state.

Thus 'Khairul Majalis' cannot be quoted as a source for expressing views assailing the Qalander.

No. (2)—*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*—It has two small articles in which the authors have confused the terms 'Kalander' and Kalandari.

They say—

Kalender—A Sufi religious order.

Kalenderi—the founder of the Kalenderiya.

Now' 'Kalender' is not a religious order nor can 'Kalenderi' be the name of a founder. This blunder is only a betrayal of ignorance. Other misconceptions, too, may be spotted out, e.g., describing the Kalender's dress, one of the author's observes:—

"The description of odd costumes which accompanies the French translation of Chalcocondylas by B de Vegenerie and which is taken from the Navigations of Nicolas de Nicolay gives on

p. 23 an engraving showing one of these Kalenders wearing a kind of hair-shirt of wool and loose hair coming down to hips, face clean shaved......He has no shoes......some of them used to walk quite naked in the streets."

What a caricature? Who has even seen a Qalender walking naked in the streets? An order which counts amongst its members eminent saints like Shah Bu Ali Qalander and Sheik Fateh Qalander (a 17th century saint to whom Prince Dara Shikoh applied for the solution of certain Sufistic problems of an intricate nature) cannot be expected to adopt the costume described or prescribe nakedness as a fashion.

Still, the foot-note in Medieval India Quarterly (Vol. I, No. 2) on p. 3 & 4 is a mere abridgement of the articles of "Encyclopaedia of Islam."

The Beginnings of British Postal System in India

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
University of Lucknow.

That Clive was the real founder of a regular postal system in British India is a fact which has not received the attention it deserves. Indeed, it was Clive who laid the foundations on which the modern elaborate postal system has been subsequently built up by his successors. Clive's work in this connection is therefore of the utmost historical interest not merely as a pioneer attempt in itself, but for the light it throws on his power of organisation and zeal for administrative reform.

Clive's interest in the establishment of an organised postal system had its origin in the necessity of keeping open the main lines of communication throughout the distant or outlying parts of the Bengal Subah which, after the transfer of the *Diwani* to the Company, had come under the virtual control of the English authorities at Calcutta. The sole responsibility for the military defence of Bengal against internal or external dangers now lay actually with the Company, hence there was the urgent need of keeping in touch with the English troops stationed at different places in the province, and of obtaining regular intelligence from all parts of the province or from other presidencies.

Apart from purely military considerations, a regular postal system was urgently needed for the growing commercial requirements of the Company itself or its servants. The authorities at Fort William needed to be continuously informed of the transactions of the Company's factors and *gumashtahs* scattered all over the country. An efficient postal system was thus called for not merely in the interests of military defence of the country, but also for the communication of civil and commercial intelligence. The assumption of the *Diwani* in 1765 thus made it absolutely imperative on the part of the Company to organise its own system of *daks*, and Clive is justly deserving of credit for the initial efforts made by him in this direction.

The system that Clive introduced was mainly a continuation of the old *dak* organisation of horse carriers or runners who carried letters and despatches by relays along the road from place to place. All that was required was to maintain a permanent and efficient staff of runners for this purpose. Clive entrusted the maintenance of this staff to the zamindars along the postal routes, and made them responsible for a regular supply of runners to carry the mails: (Vide Beng. Sel. Com., Nov. 5, 1765). It is noteworthy that the zamindars could claim a proportionate deduction in their rents for the actual number of postmen maintained or supplied by them. But, as they were obliged to supply and support the *daks* of the *Nizamat* as also those of the Company, their expenses were certainly much greater than any token compensation that they may have been actually allowed for these services.

Mr. Francis Sykes, Resident at the Durbar, who was fully cognisant of the heavy burden that was placed on the zamindars took up their cause after enquiries into their grievances, and asked the authorities at Calcutta not to allow the Emperor to place additional daks of his own from Allahabad to Calcutta and Murshidabad at the expense of the hard-pressed zamindars. He wrote to Clive and the Select Committee about this in the following words:-

> "Representations of late have been made to me by the zamindars of different villages that the King is fixing dawks from Allahabad to this place and Calcutta; that it will be a very great burden to the inhabitants in many parts of the country, if they are under a necessity of supporting them with the usual necessaries, having already both the Company's and the Nabab's dawks to provide for, and request they may be relieved from so heavy a grievance." (Vide Letter from Mr. F. Sykes, October 31, 1765. S.C. Proceedings, I, pp. 318-22).

It was early in 1766 that Clive finally arranged for a full-fledged organisation of *daks* within the Bengal province, and from Bengal to other presidencies. The principal regulations now laid down may be thus summarised (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons., March 24, 1766:—

1. The *daks* were to be controlled by a Postmaster with assistants under him.
2. The mails from Calcutta were to be despatched from the Government House.

3. Letters meant for despatch were to be sorted every night.
4. The *daks* were to be "sent off" personally by the Postmaster or his assistant.
5. Letters for different centres were to be packed in separate bags.
6. The mail bags were to be sealed with the Company's seal.
7. None but Chiefs of Factories or Residents were to open the bags meant for their respective areas.
8. The Chiefs were "to observe the same rule with respect to the letters sent down to Calcutta."

The system of runners, which formed the basis of the postal system of those days, was obviously far from perfect, and in the beginning there occurred frequent miscarriage of mail bags, particularly on the way from Calcutta to Madras. (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons., July 7, 1766). Accordingly, fresh rules were framed by Clive for a better organisation of daks, and these were circulated to the factories and Residencies subordinate to Calcutta as well as Madras. (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons., pp. 726-8 and O.C., July 7, No. 1 (a)).

The second set of regulations laid down by Clive may be thus summarised :—

1. For the current year (i.e., 1766) the mail bags were to be "numbered in regular succession from this time to the end of the year."
2. In future the mail bags were to be numbered "from the 1st January to the last of December."
3. The day and hour of despatch, and also the number of the packets were to be noted on the tickets affixed to them.
4. On every packet or bag the number and date of the preceding despatch was to be noted.
5. In order to have the earliest news of miscarriage or loss of a packet, the Resident or Chief of a factory was regularly to send advice of the receipt of each packet to the Resident of the stage from whence it came last.

6. When any packets were found to be missing, the Chiefs or Residents at the two nearest stages were to examine the runners and punish them severely, if they failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the loss.

7. The Postmaster at Calcutta and Residents at Balasore, Cuttack and Ganjam were to keep separate registers of despatches to and from Madras.

8. All packets were to be sealed with the Governor's seal as well as with that of the Company to prevent their being opened before arrival at destination.

Along with these regulations, the Governor and Council passed the following resolution for information of the Presidency of Madras:—

> "And as we have reason to believe that by proper attention to the Tappies, the communication with Madras may be more expeditious, particularly between Vizagapatam and Bandermalnaka, where making allowances for passing the rivers, it is remarked they are very tardy, it is agreed to write to the gentlemen at Madras to mention this to their subordinate factories that they may fall upon proper measures to remedy it, and recommending small boats or sangarees to be stationed at the different rivers." (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons., July 7, 1766).

Under Clive the Company's post office in Bengal was really meant for official purposes, and it was not made available for private communications, until it was reorganised by Warren Hastings in 1774.

Indo-Aegean Boat Designs and their Ethnological Identification

BY

DR. J. T. CORNELIUS, M.A., M.D., M.P.H., Ph.D. (Lond.)

There are over 20 names in Tamil for boats and ships indicating that Indo-Aegeans were the earliest sailors in the world as they had invented the boat, and learnt the art of navigation in the Cyclades in the Aegean sea, as a means of transport from one neighbouring island to the other. One of the most significant names in Tamil is Navvu for ship and from the root 'Nav', we may trace the origin of words like 'Navy' and Navigation; Latin, Navis, Armenian 'Nav' means 'ship' and navarino is a sea-port in Greece, Patta-navan is the caste name of the Tamil Boat-men from the earliest times.

Another name 'Kappal' for boat in Tamil is also of great linguistic significance as the place-name 'Cappadocia' in Asia Minor is really 'Kappal-Desam' or (land of ships) and the term 'Kaftiu' for Aegeans used by the Egyptians can also be traced to the root 'kap' or 'kef' and to 'Captain' of a vessel.

Representatives of the earliest Boat-designs of the Aegeans may be seen in paintings from vases from the Cyclades and Crete vide Figs. 1 & 3. Fig. 1 Boat design is the earliest prototype of the famous out-rigger boats called 'Oruwa' by Sinhalese and 'Kullu' by the Tamils, which took the Colonists to various parts of the world Fig. 8 and Fig. 3 with a 'Horse' is the prototype of merchant vessels that carried 'goods' and passengers from place to place across the seas. The merchant vessel shown in Fig. 3 carries a horse to Crete. The Aegeans being totemistic gave certain emblems which are characteristic of those vessels which persist to the present day by means of which these prototypes can be identified with their descendants, although there is an interval of over 5,000 years between them.

In the Boat design of the 'Galley type' Fig. 1 it will be noticed that it is a long slender cruiser with a very high bow on which there are emblems of 'Fish', 'Flag' and a protecting 'Ram'.

In the second type, the visible emblem is a 'Horse'. These emblems can still be found in South Indian Boat designs which have puzzled many writers on Pre-history.

Hornell in his article on 'Indian Boat designs' describes the various types of Boats and ships that have been in use along the Indian, Ceylon and Javanese coasts in early times.

On the basis of the emblems adopted we can recognise three basic types which are separate and distinctive. They also possess some features of their shape and construction which are characteristic of these types.

These three types are known as (1) Kalla-Dhoni, (2) Oruwa or Kulla and (3) Surual or சுருள்

The first type is a merchant vessel designated 'Kalla-Dhoni. The emblems on the bow of this vessel are (a) An 'Eye', (b) உ and (c) Puravi (புரவி) or Horse. (Vide Fig. 4 & 5).

The Creators or inventors of this type were of the 'El' confederacy as will be shown later. They worshipped Kanniamma or Kannagi, the Goddess of the sea, and in the pre-phoenician script was indicated by an 'Oculus' at the bow of their boat or ship for 'Kaṇ' in Tamil means 'Eye', standing for a guard or watch.

The second symbol உ stands for their Goddess Uma உமை is also an emblem of 'El' clan, as it has been shown in my previous article.

The third emblem Puravi is 'Horse'. The 'El' clan domesticated the Horse and it became the emblem of this confederacy, and thus came to be engraved or carved at the bow of their vessels, and was identified with it. The 'Horse' in the Cretan vessel is the source of the origin of this custom—Fig. 5.

The name 'Kalla-Dhoni' means boat of the Kalla tribe which is one of the 'El' clan; the root of Kalla is 'Kal' from 'Kali' meaning 'salt', as they were also engaged in the manufacture of salt. Important place names derived from this root are 'Kali-kot' or 'Calicut' and 'Calcutta' and point 'Cali-mere' near Cape Comarin.

The Term Kalla-Dhoni may also be equated with 'Kali'-'donia' or Caledonia or Scotland. Hide covered coracles have been seen on the Kaveri, the Tungabhadra, the Tigris and the Euphrates and in Ireland. These indisputable facts establish the ancient sites occupied by the 'El' confederacy in South India, Asia and Europe. The Oculus or 'Eye' emblem still survives in Spain and Portugal and on many other ships of the western and the eastern world.

'Kalla-Dhoni' is the largest and heaviest of any balance-board or plank built ship surviving in India. These ships are built at Kodikarai, a small port near Point Cali-mere in South India which has a sea trade-route to Vedaraniyam in North Ceylon.

The Horse on the Cretan boat is the source of the Emblem of 'Horse' engraved on Kalla-Dhoni of South India and thus establishes the identity of these two types of merchant vessels separated by distance and time. The heads of the boats were carved in the shape of the face of a parrot or Horse or shaped like a duck to represent their special emblems. The ship head of an early Chola Indian boat represents the face of a Horse from an early Indian painting.

Kalla-dhoni must therefore be taken as representative of a merchant vessel of the Indo-Aegean shipping class, with an 'Oculus' and 'Horse' as its chief emblems.

The second type of vessel is what is known as 'Oruwa' in Sinhalese and 'Kulla' in Tamil. This type is known as 'the out-rigger' type and is also called Yatra-dhoni. This type of ship was mainly used by the Colonisers for crossing the high seas. The Dravidians used this type of vessels and its best representatives are seen in the sculptures of Borobudur in Java, in use about 800 A.D. (Vide Fig. 8). They were two-masted, with pointed ends, and equipped with a stout out-rigger and steered by quarter oars. The Tamil term 'Kullan' or 'Kulla' is used for the large out-rigger fishing canoe, and for the out-rigger frame alone.

The ancient Aegean prototype of the Yatra-dhoni or Yatra Oruwa is represented on vases from Syra and Phyla-kopi in the paintings as shown in Fig. I. From the figure it will be seen that it is a long slim cruiser driven by oars and sails—a form of Galley. The bow stands very high and is significantly bearing symbolic emblems of a fish and a penant. It has a fish tail stem with a

rudder. On a Vas painted at Tragana, the Messenian Pylos, Dr. Glotz describes that the bow was crowned with a fish, and a flag protected by a Ram. Under the deck there are 25 holes for the oars. This was the type which was taken from Crete to the mainland of Greece. It is necessary here to point out the special emblems used on this vessel. They are the 'Fish' and the 'Ram' in contradiction to the 'Eye', the 'Horse', and the bird designs of the Kalla-dhoni type.

As the 'Galley' type of vessel was long and slim it needed an 'out-rigger' to give it stability, especially as a sea-going vessel. In South India this type survives in the snake-boat of Travancore used in water festivals, in Ceylon, as Yatra dhoni, in Konkan fishing boats of western coast of Malabar, and in Kila-karai fishing boats in Southern coast of Ramnad, in North West corner of Mannar, used in connection with pearl-fishing. The out-rigger canoe called Oruwa or Yatra Oruwa of Ceylon weighs about 50 tons. No iron is used in making the Hull of this type, which is also the case in Boro-budur 'out-rigger' vessels weighing several hundred tons, which were used by the Indian Colonisers in emigrating to Java.

The Sinhalese term 'Oruwa' means 'sheep' or 'Ram'. These emblems are seen as the ornamental Ram head of the bow, and at the stern of Kilakarai out-rigger fishing boats, which are used in the Ramnad Dist. and are similar to the 'Fish' and 'Ram' emblems of the Cretan vessels of the 'Galley' type in the Cyclades. This class of Yatra-dhonis are therefore known as 'Oruwas' or 'Ram' type. 'Ram' is the emblem of 'Li' tribe of the 'Ma' or 'Go' confederacy. The Tamils called the Yatra-dhonis 'Kulla' and also the out-rigger frame 'Kullan'. This term is derived from 'Kulla' or 'Kolandia' meaning an infant or 'Kolandai' in Tamil, which meant a Coloniser or new arrival, or a vessel used in colonising. The term Pallava meaning 'sprouts' in Sanskrit also has the same significance. The emblem of this vessel was 'Ram' or 'sheep' which was also the emblem of the 'Li' and 'Ma' or 'Go' tribe. Lim or sheep was equated with 'Cemmari' in Tamil the red variety of sheep and from which is derived 'Kemari' or 'Comori'. Thus Cape Comorin is derived from the 'Ram' emblem and that was the chief seat of the Ar-go-li confederacy in South India. I must add that the ancient land mark for western mariners in the western coast

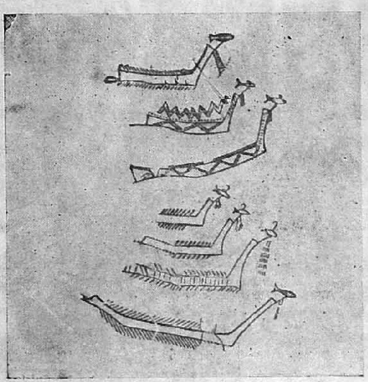

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

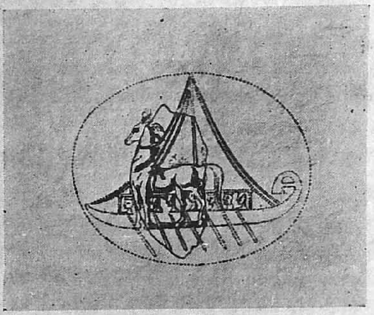

FIG. 3

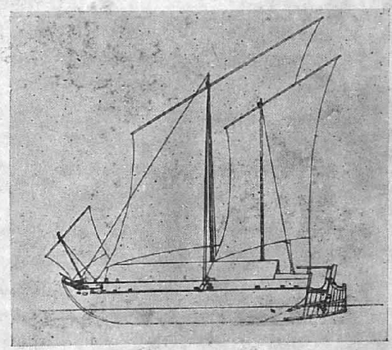

FIG. 4

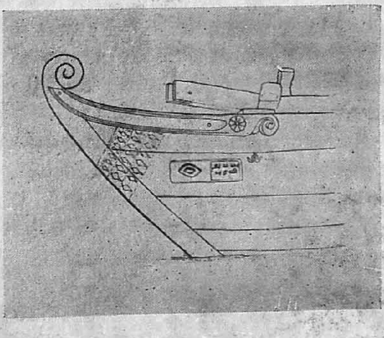

FIG. 5

FIG. 1. Ships painted on vases from the Cyclades about 3000 B.C. (after G. Glotz.). FIG. 2. The first representation of a boat found at Mohenjo-daro 2500 B.C. (after R. K. Mukerjee.). FIG. 3. Arrival of Horse in Crete about 1500 B.C. (after G. Glotz). FIG. 4. Kalla Dhoni of Kodi karai (after J. Hornell). FIG. 5. Merchant vessel with oculus and inscription (after J. Hornell).

of India known as Mount Deli is also derived from 'Eli' or 'Lim' meaning 'Ram' or 'Sheep'. The masters of sea-craft were the Parawas or Pallavas and the out-rigger vessels are their inventions. By the emblem of the 'Ram' and of the 'Fish' of the ancient Cycladian or Aegean cruiser, we identify the out-rigger type, with identical emblems of Indian boats in South India as having a common origin in the Aegean sea.

The third type of vessels was known as Battelas and Padao in west coast, and as Padagu or Jaffna-dhonis in East and South Coast of India. These are fishing and cargo boats which run from 30 to 150 tons: They are sea-going ships—the characteristic features of which are the presence of a crude vermillion figure of Ganapathi 4 or 5 inches high painted near the mast or at the stem in the western coast vessels at Kathiawar and the inwarldly coiled ornamental head in Jaffna-dhoni which is called Surual சுறுள் , vide Fig. 2. The Surual in Hindu Padagus bears three horizontal white bars painted in the aft-edge vide Fig. 9 representing three ash lines used by Saivite Hindus or Vellalas. The ornamental head at the stem called Surual சுறுள் —meaning shark or sword-fish which was the object of worship to Tamil fisherman corresponds to the 'fish' emblem of Pandyas, and Ganapathi is the Elephant god of the Vellalars. 'Fish' emblem is also seen as a characteristic ornament of the Cycladean cruiser along with the 'Ram' in prehistoric times in the Aegean seas. 'Surual' may represent 'conch'—(Triton's trumpet) which is blown on these vessels, or the coiled trunk of an Elephant. This seems very probable. The Sinhalese out-rigger coaster or yathra oruwa (yathra-dhoni-tamil) from South west coast of Ceylon shows a strong family resemblance to the Tamil Padagu type. Probably the Padagu type evolved from the yathra-oruwa which was the original type. It has been shown that the yathra-oruwa is the natural evolutionary culmination of the long slim cruiser of the Aegeans to which the snake boat of Travancore is basically related, and the 'Fish' emblem Surual of the Jaffna-dhonis, confirms this view as the 'Fish' emblem is a conspicuous feature of the Prow of the Aegean cruiser.

To sum up, the first type is that of a merchant vessel which is characterised by the 'Horse' emblem or a bird-like, 'Parrot' or 'Duck', emblem of the 'El' confederacy. The type designs of this class are (1) Kala-dhoni and (2) Laccadivian reef-boat. (Fig. 6).

Classification of Indian Boat designs and their identification on the basis of linguistic roots and emblems

Name of Boat (Indian)	Identifying emblems	Aegean type	Ornamental South Indian emblems of the prow. Place names and identifying roots
TYPE I KOTIA plank built			
(a) Kalla dhoni (merchant vessel).	Eye, Horse Fig. 4 & 5.	Horse on boat Crete. Fig. 3.	Parrot shaped or Horse faced. Place Kodi karai Point Calimere identifying root 'Kal'.
(b) Laccadivian Reef boat.	At bow upturned beak of Duck. Fig. 6.	Venetian Gondola.	Duck shaped boat with up-turned beak of duck at the stern. Place Laccadive Islands identifying root 'Lak' or 'El'.
TYPE II. Out-rigger KOLANDIA			
(a) Yatra Oruwa (Sinhalese). Kulla (Tamil) or Kolanda (Greek).	Up turned head of Ram. Fig. 7. Oruwa—Ram or sheep (Tamil).	Long slim cruiser with emblems of fish and Ram at the prow and fish tail stern. Cyclades. Fig. 1.	Up-turned head of a Ram at the stem of Kila-karai. Out-rigger canoe. Fitted with out-rigger. Identifying names: Oruwa, Kulla.

(b) Yathra-dhoni of Java type, Boro-budur. (Coloniser).	Kolandai—Infant—coloniser. Fig. 8.	——	Griffin faced fish tail stern: Used in colonising.
(c) Snake-boat of Travancore (festival).	Armed Galley type long and narrow.	Cycladean type as in Fig. 1. (Phoenecian).	Galley type with oars and sails in Travancore.
(d) Maldivean out-rigger canoe.	Out-rigger.	Caravel type, Portuguese and Spanish.	Place—Maldives. Identifying root 'ma'.
(e) Pattamar: Konkan coast.	Out-rigger.	Do.	Kon-kan and Kanarese ports.
TYPE III. SURUAL (planks screwed and nailed).			
Batala or Padao, Padagu in Tamil. Jaffna dhoni 'Surual'. Cargo and fishing. (Sea going).	Surual— Shark—sword fish, (Fish) or Conch. Fig. 9 & 10 of Ganapathi.	Related to type II without out-rigger	Surual a coiled ornamental head at the stem—Fish or Conch. Place. Valavedathur in North Ceylon and at Velan in South Kathiawar. Fish emblem of Pandya. Root 'Ar'—Elephant faced.

The second type was the sea-going colonising vessel characterized by the 'Ram' emblem of the 'Li' tribe and the maldivian out-rigger canoe (caraval) of the 'Ma' or 'Go' confederacy (Fig. 7).

The third type was the 'Fishing' and cargo type of vessels which was also sea-going known as 'Padao' or Jaffna-dhoni, and characterised by the 'Fish' emblem 'Surual'. This type belongs to the 'Ar' component of the 'Ar-go-li' confederacy Fig. 9 & 10. Three classes or castes of boat men were attached to these three types of Barges. The Boatmen of the first type were called Sembadavers (Chola or 'El' clan).

The Boatmen of the second type were known as Parawars (Pallavas or 'Go' tribe), and those of the third type as Patta navans or Karathurai vellalars (Pandyan).

There are certain geographical place names which have been discovered in the course of my investigation which deserve mention because of their bearing on the subject under consideration.

The ancient name by which Malaya was known to the Greeks was Chryse, phonetically, the term is similar to Greece. The region of Malaya occupied by Indian emigrants was also known as Golden Cher-sonese which is phonetically connected with Chera or Cera (Chola) Kingdom of South India. In Periplus it is stated that the 'Kolandia' traded to Chryse (Malaya).

The important ancient sea ports on the eastern coast were Ramnad coast, Kaveripattinam (Kamaria), Kolkoi, Masola (Masulipatam), Kalinga and Tamarilipitti. Port of Corriga was the seat of the greatest ship building activity. (Name derived from Kori-Ram or sheep in Tamil, or cock, same as Corinth in Greece.)

There is definite evidence of Indian emigration to Java around 320 B.C. and also of Vijaya's landing by sea in Ceylon from North India about 300 B.C. which may have been the result of Alexander's invasion of North India. It is stated that Egyptians of predynastic period about 4000 B.C. had crude forms of boats as seen from paintings on pottery. The Aegeans had boats much earlier than this period, as the Egyptian depended on the former for their

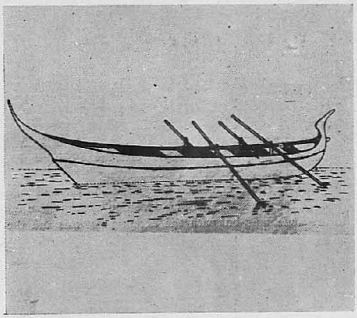

FIG. 6

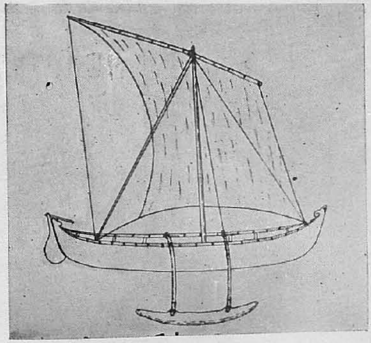

FIG. 7

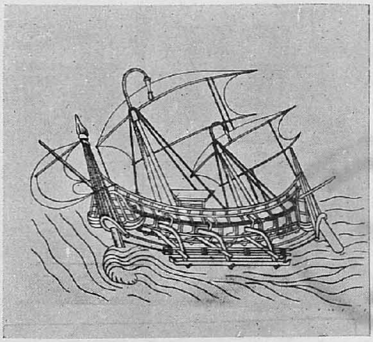

FIG. 8

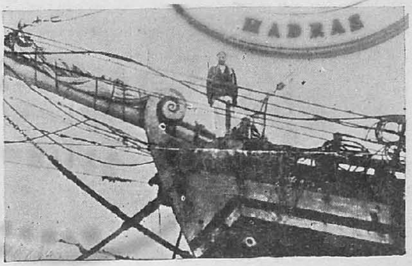

FIG. 9

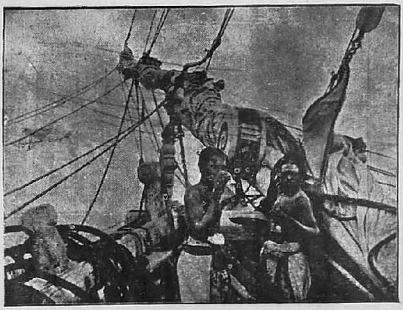

FIG. 10

FIG. 6. Laccadivian Reef Boat (after J. Hornell). FIG. 7 A. Kilakarai outrigger fishing boat with two booms (after J. Hornell). FIG. 8. A large Javanese outrigger ship of eighth century A.D. Boro-budur sculpture (after J. Hornell). FIGS. 9 & 10. Jaffna Dhoni showing Puja to Shiva and the Surual (after J. Hornell).

N.B. The above illustrations were kindly prepared and supplied by the Superintendent of the Government Museum, Madras at my request.

Boats and for the timber required for building them. The Phoenician Galleys of 1500 B.C. were much superior to those of the Egyptians.

From the above study, three fundamental types of Boat designs of the Dravidians emerge, namely, Type I, Kotias, Type II Kolandia or Kull, and Type III Battela or Padagu.

The first type belongs to the Cholas, the second type to the Chera or Pallavas and the third type to the Pandyas of South India.

The Indo-Aegeans or Dravidians were a great maritime people. The Aegeans were the first sailors of the world, and were rightly designated peoples of the sea. They carried their civilisation over the seas to different countries of the ancient world.

The Aegeans made boats which had very high bows and stern for use in the Mediterranean in very early times, about 4500 B.C. A boat of this type found in Mohenjo-Daro, about 2500 B.C. is represented in Fig. 2 which culminated in the Boro-budur type represented in the Sanchi sculptures at the western Gate-way. There can be no doubt that the earliest Dravidian maritime colonies were established in Sindh about 2500 B.C. and along the South western, and Eastern coasts of India about 2000 B.C., especially in connection with Pearl fisheries, near Northern Ceylon. The earliest towns founded were sea-ports and river-side towns, and the interior of South India was forest. This provides additional evidence that the Dravidians entered South India by sea. These colonies were established also in the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, and later, around 300 B.C. extended to Malaya, owing possibly to Alexander's invasion.

We are therefore justified in stating that the Dravidians or Indo-Aegeans came into India, chiefly by the maritime route to the Southern Punjab and to South India, from Asia minor and Crete, and the middle eastern countries, and the sea-routes for trade were established by them along the western, southern and eastern Indian coasts, about the second half of the third milleneum, and they were the authors and creators of these world famous pre-historic boat-designs, which preceded the European era of navigation.

REFERENCES

1. Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII—J. Hornell's articles on Indian Boat designs, pp. 139-256. (1918-1923).

2. Origins and spread of the Tamils by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. (1947).

3. The Aegean civilization by G. Glotz. (1925).

4. The age of the Gods by G. Dawson. (1928).

5. Pre-Aryan Tamil culture by P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar. (1929).

6. Tamil culture, Vol. I. No. 2. June 1952, by Swami Gnana Prakasar's article on Tamils turn Sinhalese.

7. Indian shipping, a history of the sea-borne trade and Maritime activity of Indians from the earliest times by Radha Kumud Mukerjee. (1916).

Nizam's Relations with the English and Tipu Sultan During 1787-1789

BY

B. Sheikh Ali,
University of Mysore

The Nizam of Hyderabad by virtue of his legal claim of the Viceroy of the Deccan played a prominent part in the last half of the eighteenth century in South Indian politics. After the dissolution of the Maratha—Nizam confederacy, both the English and Tipu were anxious to secure his co-operation. Owing to the strong rumours of a rupture between the English and Tipu, Cornwallis set about seriously to win the Nizam. The task was not easy for him as the English had offended the Nizam by compelling him to surrender the Guntur Circar.

The Question of the Guntur Circar:—Guntur Circar was one of the Northern provinces lying on the eastern coast, commonly called the Northern Circars. Since the death of Basalat Jang in 1782, the question of this Circar had been a sore point in the Anglo-Nizam relations. The Treaty of 1768 stipulated that it should be ceded to the Company on the death of Basalat Jang.[1] In 1782 Basalat Jang died and the Company claimed the reversion of Guntur but the Nizam evaded the issue on various pretexts. He kept quiet for some years and the Company's pre-occupations did not compel him to restore it. Moreover, the Company was in arrears of Paish-Kash (rent money) due to him which justified his stand. Though Sir John Macpherson sent Mr. Johnson to Hyderabad to demand its restitution, the Nizam did not comply with the request.[2] The territory was of immense importance both to the Nizam and the Company. To the Nizam, it was his sole outlet to the sea and to the Company, it linked Madras with Northern Circars. The Nizam successfully defied the repeated requests of the Company until the coming of Cornwallis.

1. Aitchison: Treaties, p. 22-25, Vol. IX.
2. G. R. Gleig: Life of Thomas Munro, p. 70, Vol. I.

At first Cornwallis also did not insist on its surrender being afraid that the Nizam would be offended and driven to join Tipu. He observed, "The business of the Guntur Circars is a very delicate one and requires the most mature reflections."[3] But in June 1788 when the Company's affairs were well settled, Cornwallis was determined to annex it. The Nizam was not prepared for war as he had just then ended his hostilities with Tipu. The French intrigue was at the lowest ebb. The French and the English were at peace in Europe. As for Tipu, it was felt that "he was neither better prepared nor more inclined to hostilities than at the end of 1787."[4] These factors convinced the Governor-General that, "No period can occur in which this claim can be asserted with less risk to the interests of Company than at present."[5] Capt. Kennaway who knew the country, language and customs was deputed specially for the purpose. As the relations of the Company were strained with Tipu at this time over the question of Cherikkal, Kennaway was advised to act with prudence. He was instructed, "Instead of declaring the real object of your mission, confine yourself to the general expression of friendship, and assurances of our earnest desire to cultivate a good understanding between the two Governments."[6] Meanwhile the Governor-General made preparations to effect his decision by force of arms.

Cornwallis who is praised for his moderation and pacific disposition proved aggressive over the Guntur question. Previous to his making the formal demand, he had completed all his military plans to seize the territory by force. He surprised the Nizam by a sudden demand about the restoration of Guntur the failure or delay of which would mean the occupation of the province by troops within fourteen days.[7] Col. Edgerton was despatched to the boundaries of the Nizam's territories on September 9, 1789 with a detachment consisting of Europeans and four battalions of sepoys. The Nizam was stunned by the faithlessness of the English. He could neither mobilize his forces nor organize a general plan of opposition with the neighbours. The sudden appearance of the

3. Ross, p. 252, Vol. I.
4. Forrest: Selections, p. 35, Vol. I.
5. Ross, p. 345, Vol. I.
6. Forrest, p. 36-37, Vol. I.
7. Gleig, p. 71, Vol. I.

British troops and the short notice of fourteen days to comply with the request virtually meant an ultimatum to the Nizam. Tipu could not come to the rescue as the time was too short. The Marathas were also busy with their affairs of the North in reinstalling Shah Alam on the throne of Delhi. The Nizam had thus no alternative but to surrender the Circars. But at the same time he protested against the violence and injustice of the Company. He complained that the English should have paid their arrears before they insisted on its restoration. "What security have I that they will be more punctual in future in discharging their peish-cash than they have hitherto been."[8]

The acquisition of Guntur was Cornwallis' first act of aggression. It confirmed the misgivings of the Indian princes about the expansionist policy of the English. The Nizam had to suffer the loss of his valuable and strategic territory on the plea that the English had a claim on it by some old treaty of twenty years ago. He was highly disappointed. Munro writes, "It was the humiliation of a great prince compelled to sacrifice his dignity to necessity and to suppress his indignation at being told that it is done with his own approbation and purely from motives of friendship by the English."[9] The acquisition was quite contrary to the declared policy of having no desire for expansion. It would antagonise all princes of India against the Company. Col. Read says, "I believe it is a received opinion among the princes of India that we have desire to enfeeble every power in connection with us and consequently every one who is tenacious of his dependency is wary in trusting to our support."[10]

The next step after the recovery of Guntur Circar was the renewal of the Treaty of 1768. That treaty which was invoked to deprive the Nizam of his territory, also contained the germs of a hostile alliance against Mysore. It stigmatised Hyder Ali as a rebel, an usurper and an enemy of peace and called upon the Nizam, "to divest him of, and revoke him from, all sannads, honours and distinctions conferred by himself or any other Soubah of the Deccan."[11] In the interest of "peace and for the general

8. *Ibid.,* p. 71, Vol. I.
9. *Ibid.,*
10. Mackenzie Ms., p. 58, Vol. LXVI.
11. Aitchison, p. 31, Vol. IX.

benefit of all the neighbouring powers", the Company and the Nizam had agreed to punish and reduce him. Cornwallis desired to revive this clause of the Treaty by which the English could once again form an offensive alliance against Tipu. He maintained that the Clause was still in force and Tipu should be looked upon as an enemy. But he conveniently forgot that subsequent to the conclusion of this treaty in 1768, the English had entered into other treaties of friendship with Mysore which nullified the effect of all former treaties. The Treaty of Madras in 1769 with Hyder recognized him as the ruler of Mysore and the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784 further acknowledged this, besides establishing peace and friendship between the Company and Mysore. Yet Cornwallis contended in total disregard to the Parliamentary Act of 1784 that the offensive clause of the Treaty of 1768 was still in force. There might have been some justification for the Offensive Alliance of 1768 as Haider had invaded the Carnatic, but the situation in 1789 was entirely different as Tipu had given the English no cause of hostility.

Cornwallis argued that though Tipu had not yet started a war, he might do it sooner or later and hence he was justified in his action. He was therefore, "determined that this critical situation should not occur without his having previously secured the co-operation of two efficient allies, the Nizam and the Marathas."[12] But the English were not completely innocent and Tipu alone was not guilty of offence. The English were noted for violating their engagements ever since 1769 when they had failed to help Haider against the Marathas inspite of their promises. They never accepted the Treaty of 1784 with sincerity and had infringed it on numerous previous occasions. Their Tellicherry factory always afforded shelter to the rebellious subjects of Tipu. Thus Cornwallis had no justification to revive the offensive alliance by throwing all the blame on Tipu.

Cornwallis wanted to revive the old treaty of 1768 for an offensive alliance with the Nizam because he could not conclude a fresh one as that would be against the spirit of Pitt's India Act. Very diplomatically he devised the means of evading this Act by reviving an old one which would avoid the censure of his critics. By this he would be guilty of neither offending the law of his coun-

12. Forrest, p. 39, Vol. I.

try nor compromising his ambition. The sixth Article of that Treaty provided a basis for a powerful co-operation with the Nizam against Tipu. According to it the English promised to assist the Nizam with two battalions of Sepoys and six pieces of cannon manned by Europeans, "whenever the situation of affairs will allow such a body of troops to march into the Deccan."[13] Cornwallis decided to implement this clause. The British contingent would be sent to the Nizam at any time except on one occasion; "that it is not to be employed against any power in alliance with the Company viz., Pundit Pradhan Peishwa, Raghojee Bhonsla, Madajee Scindhia and the other Maratha chiefs, the Nawab of Arcot and Nawab Vazier, the Rajas of Tanjore and Travancore."[14] The list of "with only one exception" was so long and exhaustive that it included every important prince except Tipu. He was deliberately excluded as he was the main target. Even the Rajas of Tanjore and Travancore were mentioned but not Tipu. The purpose was to isolate Tipu by a specific mention of all the allies.

To lure the Nizam into an alliance against Tipu, Cornwallis revived another part of the old treaty namely the recovery of the Carnatic Balaghaut in possession of Tipu. He regretted that circumstances had not permitted so long the implementation of this treaty obligation which he was determined to do now.[15] He assured the Nizam that hereafter he would endeavour to recover these territories.[16] Cornwallis next informed Tipu that if he "landed into a contest with him he might lose a large portion of his territory."[17]

Thus the Governor-General bypassing the spirit of the Parliamentary Act, concluded virtually an offensive alliance against Tipu. He thus transformed his letter of 7th July 1789 to the Nizam into a Treaty of Alliance against all convention. John Malcolm criticised it as to him it was questionable in point of faith and was more calculated to produce a war with Tipu than for limiting his inordinate ambition.[18] Thornton observes, "It is highly instructive

13. Aitchison, p. 33, Vol. IX.
14. Aitchison, p. 44, Vol. IX.
15. Sec. Proc. Const., July 7, 1789.
16. *Ibid.,*
17. Forrest, p. 41, Vol. I.
18. John Malcolm: Sketch of the Political Ristory of India, p. 68-69.

to observe a statesman, justly extolled for moderate and pacific disposition, thus indirectly violating a law, enacted for the enforcement of these virtues, by entering into a very intelligible offensive alliance."[19] But Cornwallis was confident that home authorities would support his policy. He was quite influential with Dundas and Pitt. Dundas wrote to Cornwallis, "It is so very essential to our interests to detach him (The Nizam) from all other connexions and unite him in the closest connexions and dependence upon our protection, that there is no alliance formed upon that basis to which you may not expect our concurrence."[19a] Thus Cornwallis was at last successful in his efforts to win over the Nizam to his side.

Tipu and the Nizam: Tipu was conscious of the English activities in the Hyderabad court. Until the coalition of 1790 was finally concluded, it was not certain whether the Nizam would ultimately join the English or not. Though Cornwallis had tried his best to revive the treaty engagements of 1768, Tipu was equally busy dissuading the Nizam from co-operating with the English. Certain factors had improved vastly the Nizam-Tipu relations during this period. Cornwallis had offended the Nizam by suddenly demanding the Guntur Circar. The Nizam's relations with the Marathas also were not happy as he was not treated justly in the peace negotiations and even his name was omitted in the first draft of the Treaty. He was practically isolated at this period and he was very bitter against all his three neighbours. He proposed to the French a defensive alliance which would protect him from the ambition of his neighbours.[20] The French tried to pacify and reconcile him with Tipu. They advised him to "cultivate and cement an alliance with Tipu Sultan" whom they called a firm friend and a dangerous enemy. The Nizam agreed as a measure of expediency to be friendly with Tipu.[21] He expressed his willingness to let the French mediate on his behalf with Tipu and settle all his disputes with him.[22] These events resulted in unexpected

19. Thoronton, p. 395-96, Vol. II.
19a. Forrest, p. 43, Vol. I.
20. P. A. Ms. Sep. 4, 1788.
21. Sec. Proc. Const., dated Oct. 10, 1787.
22. P.R.C. No. 12, Vol. III.

cordiality and friendship between Tipu and the Nizam.[23] The relations appeared to be so cordial that the English suspected a triple alliance of the Nizam, the French and Tipu.[24]

The conciliatory policy of Tipu Sultan in conceding liberal terms to the Nizam in the preceding war encouraged him to propose an alliance with Tipu. In August 1787, he engaged Imtiaz-ud-Daulah, his brother-in-law and Shams-ul-Umrah, the commander of his household troops to sound Tipu about an alliance. Tipu was too well disposed to such a proposal which resulted in the despatch of two ambassadors, Hafiz Farid-ud-Deen and Bahudur Khan from Hyderabad to Seringapatam. They were charged with the secret task of negotiating a treaty for the Nizam. They left Hyderabad in October 1787 and reached Tipu's capital in November 1787.[25] Tipu responded very favourably to the proposals of the Nizam and wrote to him that at no time either he or his father had ever entertained any hostile design against him. He reminded him the period of their co-operation in the second Mysore War which prevented the English from demanding the surrender of Guntur. Though the relations in the meanwhile had been strained owing to the participation of the Nizam in the Mysore-Maratha War, Tipu wrote that he would forget the past and added, "I am desirous of entering into a firm alliance with your Highness and to show how earnest I am in it, request you will appoint a time and place for a personal conference that all matters relating to our respective interests may be taken into consideration and a treaty concluded for our mutual advantage."[26]

Tipu would go a step further and as a proof of his earnest co-operation, he would relinquish the Nizam's territories previously acquired by Mysore.[27] Besides, he proposed a matrimonial alliance which would further strengthen the basis of a political confederacy. It was proposed that the daughter of the Nizam should be married to the son of Tipu. Col. Read says that Tipu himself desired to marry the Nizam's daughter but it is incorrect.[28]

23. Mly. Const., dated Dec. 20, 1787.
24. *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1787.
25. Mackenzie Mss., pp. 53-54, Vol. LXVI.
26. *Ibid.*,
27. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

It is not very clear whether the daughter or the niece of the Nizam (Imtiaz-ud-Daulah's daughter) was intended for the marriage. Even Kirmani is silent on this point and speaks only "of matrimonial alliance."[29] Col. Read says that the ambassadors on their return from Seringapatam took a casket of jewels for the bride, the daughter of the Nizam.[30] The relations seemed so far improved that Tipu ordered a statement of the territories to be prepared which once belonged to the Nizam. But the Nizam was not very keen about these proposals and hence his reply was vague and the negotiations broke down. The possibility of an active alliance remained merely a pious hope.

With the acquisition of Guntur by the English, the Nizam was roused to a sense of danger and revived his overtures again with Tipu. He dispatched his agents Hafiz-ud-Deen and Ramachandra to Tipu in November 1788 who was encamped at that time near Coimbatore. The Nizam sought Tipu's help and urged that they should forget their differences and become friends.[31] He sent a copy of Quran. He depicted the English to be the common enemy of both and revealed the secret that the Treaty of 1768 which had deprived the Nizam of Guntur, envisaged hostile designs on Tipu's country also.[32] According to that Treaty the Nizam was obliged to join the English in compelling Tipu to surrender the Carnatic Balaghaut.

Tipu's response was again favourable and he was willing to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the Nizam. He revived the proposal of a matrimonial connection between the two families which Tipu regarded very significant as it would end all old feuds. In the middle of September, Tipu held a conference with Hafiz-Farid-ud-Deen at Coimbatore when the Maratha Vakil Shivaji Rao was also present. He proposed four things; firstly the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance, secondly the Nizam's co-operation with Tipu against the English; thirdly cession of Guntur to Tipu in return for the usual rent and lastly a matrimonial alliance between Tipu's son and the Nizam's daughter.[33]

29. Kirmani, p. 149.
30. Mackenzie Ms., p. 55, Vol. LXVI.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
32. *Aitchison*, p. 32-33, Vol. IX.
33. Mackenzie Ms., p. 86, Vol. LXVI.

After the conference along with the Nizam's envoys, Tipu sent his own Vakils, Qutubuddeen Khan and Ali Reza Khan to Hyderabad to finalise the proposals.

But these proposals were destined to fail. By that time the English intrigue was quite active in Hyderabad. Cornwallis was strenuously engaged in dissuading the Nizam from joining Tipu. The prospects of recovering Carnatic Balaghaut was employed as an inducement. Moreover the Nizam also was not sincere in his offer of alliance with Tipu. At the same time he despatched agents to Seringapatam, he had sent an envoy, Mir Abdul Qasim, popularly known as Mir Alam, to Calcutta ostensibly to settle the arrears of tribute with the English but in reality to urge Cornwallis to fulfil the sixth Article of the Treaty of 1768 by which he was entitled to obtain from the English two battalion of sepoys and six pieces of cannon manned by Europeans. As the Nizam was isolated at this time, he was anxious to secure as speedily as possible the assistance of either Tipu or the English. The subtle diplomacy of Cornwallis immediately came to the rescue of the Nizam and the sixth Article of the old treaty offered him the required help. The presence of the English Resident also made the Nizam lukewarm towards Tipu. The shrewd and subtle English diplomacy destroyed the possibility of the Nizam-Tipu rapprochement. Tipu's ambassadors were suspected in Hyderabad and were kept under guard.[34] The matrimonial connection also was turned down on the ground that Tipu came of a low family and that he was the son of Hyder Nayak, "a soldier of fortune of the lowest birth." A connection with a family of upstarts was thought derogatory and disgraceful. Tipu resented bitterly this insulting attitude of the Nizam which prevented the conclusion of an alliance between two great states in the South of India.

From the Persian records in the National Archives it would appear that when the Nizam first sent Hafiz Farid-ud-Deen to Tipu, he himself proposed the marriage of his son with Tipu's daughter but Tipu did not agree.[35] He proposed on the other hand the marriage of his son with the Nizam's daughter. When Farid-ud-Deen was deputed a second time to Tipu, he proposed at the instance of

34. Sec. Proc. March 3, 1790.
35. C.P.C. No. 251, Vol. VIII.

the Nizam reciprocal marriages between the families.[36] These records say that Tipu rejected the proposal this time as the Nizam was busy negotiating an offensive alliance with the English through Mir Alam at Calcutta. The Nizam did not like to antagonize Tipu until his treaty with the English was finalised. Therefore he demanded as a price of his alliance with Tipu the payment of arrears eight lakhs of rupees per year which Hyder Ali had promised by the Treaty of 1766.[37] The Nizam knew what the reactions of such a proposal would be, but he had nothing to fear as Cornwallis was more anxious than he to send him military aid.

Thus the negotiations completely failed apparently on the sentimental ground that the Nizam was scornful of a marriage connection with Tipu's family. But there were other reasons as well. Tipu would not have taken very seriously a personal matter like the marriage and the Nizam would not have been imprudent to make the birth of Tipu a decisive factor in politics. The plain fact is that the Nizam did not really desire an alliance with Tipu. His only anxiety was to break the isolation in which he stood at that time. He was simply dodging Tipu to exact better terms from the English. Moreover, he was surrounded at the time by two rival groups of advisers in his court, one of Imtiaz-ud-Daulah and Shamsul-Umrah who were the partisans of Tipu and the other of Mushir-ul-Mulk, the Prime Minister and Mir Alam who were the supporters of the English. The Anglophil party was more powerful and intriguing than the other which successfully opposed the matrimonial connection. Tipu's vakils were outwitted by the superior British diplomacy which excited the jealousy of the Nizam and lured him with the prospects of territorial acquisitions. The Mysorean vakils could not convince the Nizam that it was in his interest in the long run to join Tipu. The English Resident, Kennaway by aligning himself with the court clique against Tipu poisoned the growing Nizam-Tipu relations. Tipu's anxiety for an alliance was misrepresented as fight for personal aggrandisement.

Thus there was a keen contest between the English and Tipu to win the Nizam's alliance. It was unfortunate that the Nizam finally decided to join the English.

36. *Ibid.*, No. 896.
37. Pol. Proc. March 3, 1790.

Sarasvati Bhandāras in South India

BY

K. D. SWAMINATHAN, M.A.,

Ootacamund.

In recent years, we very much talk about libraries, library methods and library movements. The idea of the library, however, is neither new nor novel. Library history shows that the institution is a spontaneous development from the conditions of a literate culture. The ruins of Rome, Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia furnish unmistakable evidence that all these older civilisations haa their library systems, but the records are too scanty to help us to know their extent, their content and their organisation.

In ancient India there were many sylvian abodes of learning. The *ṛishis* and saints of old functioned more or less as walking encyclopaedias. With the development of the art of writing the necessity for preserving knowledge in written form came to be realised. The spread of lay education and the rise of secular schools necessiated writing on a large scale and the preservation of manuscripts and books.

The most primitive form of library seems to have been a canon of religious scriptures of which a single copy was communally owned by each congregation. Its textual content was put into circulation through public readings and expository lectures. All such canons incorporated the writings of several authors in a wide range of literary forms. A secondary type of canonical scripture was developed for the use of specialised communities of religious professionals. The Buddhist *Tripīṭaka* one such canon runs to 7920 books.

It is a well-known fact that in the mediaeval period religious institutions of all denominations Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Jaina flourished in South India either with royal patronage or with the support of private benefactions. They appear to have been primarily seminaries for the imparting of religious education though incidentally they disseminated secular knowledge as well. The extensive properties granted from time to time to temples were left in charge of

the heads of *maṭhās* called *Maṭhādipatis, Mudaliyārs* or *Jīyars* on whom devolved the duty of supervising the proper conduct of services and who enjoyed some privileges as remuneration. There were also *Ghaṭikasthānās* "establishments by holy men" and many smaller educational institutions for the spread of knowledge.

Donations made for the maintenance of these institutions are recorded in several inscriptions. Though no specific references to libraries are found in them, we can infer that for their proper, functioning, the *maṭhās, ghaṭikas* and *pāṭhaśālas,* must have maintained each well stocked libraries, for the use of the teachers and the taught.

The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been found in the *maṭhas* and other places in South India testify to the fact that the library was a well recognised institution of medieaval religious and student life. This existence of libraries or *Sarasvati-bhaṇḍāras* in South India is borne out by epigraphic evidence. A copper plate grant of Western Chālukya King Trailōkyamalla[1] from Kōlūru and dated Śaka 980, Viḷambi Pushya Śuddha Chavuti (24th December, A.C. 1058) records a grant of land for the maintenance of 400 Brahmins in the Nāgavāvi *agrahāra.* Madhuva founded an educational institution called *Ghaṭikāsāla* for 200 scholars studying the *Vēdas* and 52 studying the *Śāstras.* The institute was manned by three Vēdic teachers, three Śāstra teachers, for teaching *Bhaṭṭadarśana, Nyāya* and *Prabhākara,* and six librarians (*Sarasvatī-bhaṇḍārikās*). Madhuva gave that land for the boarding and lodging of the teachers and students. The inscription contains the following further details. "35 *mattar* of land under the dam at Araturu and Diggavige (lower cave at Nāgavāvi) to the expounder of *Bhaṭṭadarsana,* 30 *mattar* of land to the expounder of *Nyāya,* 45 *mattar* to the expounder of *Prabhākara,* 30 *mattar* to each librarian, 30 *mattar* to the striker of the hours (*ghaṭikaprahari*).

An inscription in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīrangam[2] records the setting up of the images of Sarasvatī, Vēda Vyāsa Bhagavān and Hayagrīva, which had been newly installed in the *maṇḍapa* built as an adjunct to the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra (library) by one Nīlakaṇṭha Nayaka of Pālappaḷḷi. According to the *Āgamas,*

1. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series,* No. 8, Inscriptions of Nagai, p. 7.
2. *A.R.S.I.E.,* 1938-39, No. 139.

a temple of the first magnitude should have a library attached and Śrīrangam temple, being an important centre of religious activities in the mediaeval centuries, it is but natural that it must have been provided with an institute for the dissemination of knowledge. The images of Hayagrīva, Sarasvatī, and Vēdavyāsa in the *maṇḍapa,* represented the three presiding deities of learning. Nīlakaṇṭha Nāyaka was a contemporary of Vīra Rāmanātha in one of whose 14th year (A.C. 1269) inscription he is mentioned.[3] The library of the Śrīrangam temple could have been in existence from an earlier period.

An inscription in the Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ temple at Little Conjeevaram[4] dated Vikāri, Mēsha Śudi Prathama (March 29, A.C. 1359) records that a certain Vaishṇava dāśa was invested with the title of Brahmatantra- Svatantra-Jīyar by God, and directed to establish a *maṭha,* with the lands necessary to meet the expenses and that the books procured by him should be left with him. This epigraph refers to a collection of manuscripts (or a library) which was kept in the *maṭha* and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep as envisaged in the expression *"iva tēḍina postakangaḷum, vēṇḍum upakaraṇaṅgaḷum"*[5] By *Postakangaḷum,* manuscript bundles are meant. The *upakaraṇās* are the accessories and paraphernalia required for running a library, such as probably racks for accommodation of manuscript bundles, spare sets of cadjan leaves for copying work and stylus and other scribal apparatus.

During the days of the Vijayanagar kings also, public libraries were not unknown. A grant of land by king Bukka Mahārāja in Śaka 1329, Vyaya, to Paurāṇika Kavi Krishṇa Bhaṭṭa for the renovation and proper upkeep of a library belonging to a *maṭha* at Śriṅgēri, is an instance in point. This record from Vantyala, a hamlet of Perdūru[6] in South Kanara Dt., mentions the gift of the village Bramhāra in Bārakūru nāḍu and certain incomes from other villages including Kanyāya, Pentanna and Belmaji to Purāṇika Kavi Krishṇa Bhaṭṭa of Śringēri for the maintenance and renovation of a *"pustaka bhaṇḍāra"* belonging to the Śringēri maṭha.

3. *Ibid.,* 1937-38, No. 4.
4. *A.R.E.,* 1919, No. 574.
5. Conjeevaram Inscription of Brahmatantra-Svatantra Jiyar Ś 1282. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXV, pp. 319 ff.
6. *A.R.S.I.E.,* 1936-37, No. 283.

Kavi Krishṇa Bhaṭṭa's son named Kavi Śankara Bhaṭṭa figures in another record[7] from the same village. Thus as the propagation of learning was attended to by the schools and vedic seminaries and as the Śaiva and other religious organisations also cooperated in the dissemination of knowledge, well equipped libraries containing many manuscripts must have been maintained by these institutions.

The year 1799 saw the end of the independant Tanjore Maratha Kingdom and ushered in the rule of the Company. Sarabhōji, though deprived of his sovereignty, made his court the centre of cultural and literary activities. His association with the missionary Schwartz, led him to appreciate literature and encourage learning wherever he found it. The greatest task which he undertook was the collection of old records and printed books and the organisation of the Śarasvatī Mahal library at his capital wherein all these have been housed. The library is one of the finest repositories of ancient learning. It now contains more than twenty-two thousand manuscripts mostly in Sanskrit[8] and they deal with a variety of subjects as Vēdānta, Kāvya, Grammar, Mūsic, Dancing, Architecture, Astronomy and Medicine. There are hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts dealing with Nāyak and Maratha times.

Sarabhōji took a fancy for collecting interesting articles. Mr. Robinson, who accompanied Bishop Heber to Tanjore records "The Rājah received us in his library; a noble room with three rows of pillars and handsomely furnished in the English style. On one side there are portraits of the Maratha dynasty from Shahāji to Sivaji, ten books cases containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek and Latin books and two others of Maratha and Sanskrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of medicine, which for some years was his favourite study."[9] From this description of the library by Mr. Robinson, we get a very clear account of the elaborate organisation and arrangement of the Sarasvati Mahal Library. When Bucchanan

7. *Ibid*, No. 284.
8. C. K. Srinivasan—*Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*, p. 330.
9. Hickey—*Tanjore Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*, p. 330.

visited Tanjore he was presented with a catalogue containing the list of books available in the Sarasvati Mahal Library.[10]

So far we have described public libraries in ancient and medieval South India. But it should not be thought for a moment that there were not private collections of manuscripts or libraries owned privately. Evidence of the existence of such libraries is not gathered only from Hindu sources. Under Muslims also there appear to have been libraries. Mohamed of Ghazni is said to have maintained a large library at his capital consisting more than 30,000 volumes.

In the fifteenth century Mahumud Gavan (A.C. 1447) minister of the Bhamani Sultan frequently used his library of three thousand volumes. During the Mughul period Akbar, though an illiterate person, possessed a splendid library of 24,000 manuscripts, valued at Rs. 6,463,731. Akbar was not interested in printed works though printing was started by the Jesuits at Goa even about A.C. 1550.

In the early years of the last century Col. Mackenzie was able to collect thousands of manuscripts in the different languages of South India only from private individuals. They are now housed in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library under the care of a Curator.

The above instances thus show that the idea of the library is neither new nor novel to us now.

10. C. K. Srinivasan—*Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*, p. 334.

'The Younghusband Expedition, an Interpretation'

BY.

P. L. Mehra, Ph.D. (John Hopkins),
Military Wing, National Defence Academy, Dehradun

I

The story of the Younghusband Expedition has never ceased to evoke the interest and excite the curiosity of students of frontier affairs, even in lands far removed from the barren and treeless wastes of Tibet. Today that story has assumed greater significance not for the specialist alone, but even for the layman who finds it exceedingly hard to grasp the meaning of much that has lately passed over this land of mystery and snow that adjoins our northern borders. Any understanding of this border, and its problems, would entail some reasonable familiarity with the aims and objectives visualised—and the results that flowed from the Younghusband expedition. Simply told, the episode is a brief one and relates to the summer of 1903 when Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India, chose a Major Younghusband to lead a small number of 'frontier diplomats' to negotiate on some trading rights, and settle a few outstanding border disputes, with the representatives of Tibet's god-king and of the Imperial Chinese Resident at Lhasa. The British commercial mission escorted by a couple of hundred well-armed troops penetrated a score of miles into the country to initiate the parleys, and ended finally as a full-fledged military expedition that dictated terms to the battle-worsted Tibetans in the audience-chamber of the golden Potala. This chapter in Indo-Tibetan relations which the baron of Kedleston thus opened has not yet drawn to its close. In fact it would appear that the (Communist) Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950, and the more recent agreement signed at Peking between the new masters of Delhi and the Government of Mao Tse-tung are an integral part of the chain reaction that started on its course half a century ago.

Nor could it be maintained that the final word has yet been said on the Younghusband performance at Lhasa. Indeed the treaty which the victorious British commander concluded there

marked the beginnings of controversies whose reverberations still fill the pages of learned books and journals.[1] The Curzon-Younghusband team though it had succeeded in persuading a reluctant British Government to sanction the advance to Lhasa, failed woefully in carrying conviction after the initial goal had been reached. The two of them,—'old friends and fellow-travellers', to use Lord Curzon's words—had aimed at a political settlement that would have left the British in supreme control, with a territoral and an economic stranglehold over the land which would have been hard to shake. The Conservative Government of Arthur Balfour shrank from the prospect at the very moment of its realisation, and repudiated most of that to which their Commissioner had committed them. There are indeed few instances in history where an expanding imperial system thus deliberately set limits to its expansion, and denied itself the very means whereby it subsisted and flourished.

In the narrative unfolded here an attempt has been made to view the entire sequence of events in the light of an over-all picture of India's landward periphery, with its varied problems, and the political philosophies of the men who conceived, planned and finally executed the mission. Again, the expedition has been viewed not indeed in isolation but as an essential part of the manifold aspects of Lord Curzon's Indian viceroyalty.

II

An important factor that has determined the various problems of India's northern frontier is the geography of the land that lies beyond the Himalayan ranges. Another equally significant factor has been the relative levels of development in the societies of India and the mountain region which conditioned their attitude to the

1. The most recent addition to literature on the subject is, George Seaver, *Francis Younghusband*, (London, 1952). Wilhelm Filchner, *Sturm uber Asien*, (Berlin, 1925) is not quite as reliable. A Russian writer, A. Popov, Russia and Tibet, *Novji Vostok*, (Moscow, 1927, 1928) throws interesting light on the subject. Some Chinese writers Wei Kuo Lee, *Tibet in Modern World Politics*, 1774-1922, (New York, 1931) Tieh-tseng Li, *A Historical study of the status Tibet*, and Yao-ting Sung, *Chinese-Tibetan Relations*, 1890-1947, help to give the Chinese view-point on the controversy. The latter two are in manuscript form and are doctoral dissertations presented to the Universities of Columbia in 1953 and of Minnesota in 1949 respectively.

problems of terrain on this frontier. Aside from these, the basic fact of this frontier is the vast expanse of Tibet. To view it in an over-all perspective one might regard undivided India's landward periphery as consisting of two shells:[2] the inner comprising Baluchistan, the North-West frontier tribal area and states, Gilgit and Leh, Sikkim and Bhutan and what comprises the North-East agency (sundering Assam from its neighbours in the north and in the south) - with Nepal occupying a very special position in this "inner" ring. In the "outer" shell Afghanistan and Sinkiang in the west and north-west and Tibet in the north and north-east occupied a highly important and strategic position. Any understanding of India's land frontiers, and the problems connected therewith, would entail a thorough knowledge of the political geography of these three states vis-a-vis India. Though the first two viz. Afghanistan and Sinkiang, fall outside the scope of this study, one may tarry awhile if only to emphasise that alongwith Tibet they present basically the same problem: the survival, to borrow Lord Lytton's picturesque phrase, of earthen pipkins between iron pots.[3] A condition precedent to the survival of such states is that Russia and China in the north should hold apart from India and Pakistan in the south, for in proportion as the iron pots approach each other, the earthen pipkins are endangered. In his Political Testament the Amir Abdur Rehman, of Afghanistan, compared his country's plight to that of a swan swimming on a pond with a bear on one bank and a lion on the other. And he counselled his successors for a long time to come to keep to deep water.[4] As for Tibet the late Sir Charles Bell thought her to be an ideal "buffer" and cautioned against either China or Russia dominating her.[5] Much the same holds true in respect of Sinkiang, for she stands at the backdoor of India and Pakistan which is at the same time

2. The point is briefly touched upon by Sir Olaf Caroe, "The External Problems of India and Pakistan", *The Asiatic Review*, XLIV, (1948), pp. 303-9.

3. Lord Lytton used the metaphor in his warnings to Sher Ali against under-estimating the danger of British hostility to his tiny state. For details, see Lady Betty Balfour, *"The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration"*, (London, 1899).

4. Quoted in Sir Evelyn Howell, "Some Problems of the Indian Frontier", *JRCAS*, XXI, (1934), pp. 81-98. (*JRCAS* is an abbreviation for Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society and is used throughout this paper).

5. Sir Charles Bell, "The North-Eastern Frontier", *JRCAS*, XVII, (1930), pp. 221-26.

the front door of the Soviet Union, and at an angle of the hinterland frontier which for centuries has been regarded as the back-door of China.[6] It would thus appear that a detailed examination of the Tibetan problem in the context both of its geography and history would be an aid to a better understanding of all the three countries in the outer periphery.

Tibetans call their country 'Po', early Arab works referring to it as 'Tobbat', 'Tubbat' and 'Tibat', the word Tibet being a derivation of *To Po* meaning upper Tibet.[7] According to a Chinese authority *To Fan*, or, hinging on a variant on the old pronunciation of the second word, *To Bo*, is the country's Chinese name: *To* being a phonetic rendering of a Tibetan word for highland, while *Bo* is the name the Tibetans give to themselves.[8] Sanskrit chronicles of the seventh century refer to Tibet as Bhota.[9]

Most of Tibet is a wild, desolate arid waste in the heart of Asia's steepest mountains.[10] It is a high plateau, for the most part bleak and barren and cut by mountain chains stretching from Kashmir to West China: an inhospitable waste of frozen desert.[11] The Tibetan plateau ranges in height from 9,000 to 29,000 feet above sea-level, nearly three-fourths of it lying above 10,000 feet, and in

6. Owen Lattimore, "*Sinkiang, the Pivot of Asia*", (Boston, 1951), p. vii.
7. Sir Charles Bell, "*The People of Tibet*", (London, 1928), p. 1.
8. Tsung-Lien Shen and Shen-Chi Liu, "*Tibet and the Tibetans*", (Stanford, 1953), p. 4.
9. According to William Woodville Rockhill, "Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet", based on the Collections in the United States National Museum, *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June* 30, 1893, Report of the U.S. National Museum (Washington, 1895), Tibetans from whatever parts of the country they come speak of themselves as Bod pa, Bod people, the word Tibet representing two Tibetan words meaning "Upper Bod" by which name the central and western portions of Tibet are occasionally called by the natives to distinguish them from the eastern portion which is sometimes referred to as Man Bod, meaning "Lower Bod". Mongols use the term "Tungut" for the Tibetans of the north and west and "Tubet" for those of the centre and the south.
10. A fairly comprehensive account of Tibet's geography is in the *Geographie Universelle* volume on La Haute Asie. Bell, *The People of Tibet*, Chapter I, is brief but dependable.
11. The French geographers, Jean Brunches and Camille Vallaux, "*La Geographie de l'Histoire*", (Paris, 1921), describe Tibet as a high altitude desert backed by rugged mountain ranges. Quoted in Robert Strausz-Hupe, *Geopolitics*, (New York, 1942), p. 232.

large areas all elevations exceed 16,000 feet. A well-known geographer computes that in Tibet, between the Himalayan and the Karakoram ranges alone, there are fifty summits of over 25,000 feet in height.[12] Interspersed with these mountain ranges, however, are small river valleys such as those of the Indus, the Sutlej and the Tsang Po. Except for the valleys most of the country is not habitable, for its unusual elevation, the sharp temperature contrasts between day and night, and lack of adequate water do not encourage settlement—not to mention that even travelling is a hazardous proposition in most parts.[13]

Physically Tibet has two broad divisions: the Chang Tang, and the rest of the country.[14] The former is the vast, unexplored plateau of north and central Tibet, occupying nearly seventy-five percent of the entire area. Though its mean height is approximately 16,000 feet, many of its peaks range above 20,000; the whole area, a desolate and treeless waste, is dependent on the southern region for the barley necessary to feed its domesticated yak. The rest of the country, nearly one-fourth in area, may be further subdivided into three regions. One of these, the valley of the Tsang Po and the broken country along the southern border of the Himalayas, is quite a distinct geographical unit. It is the area of Tibet's highest density of population for its fields afford good pasture ground, and the valleys below excellent farming land. The climate here is relatively mild, the winter being no colder than in Peking, and not nearly so cold as in Mongolia. Tibet's main food supply

12. George B. Cressey, *"Asia's Lands and Peoples"*, Second Edition, (New York, 1950), p. 160.

The same author's earlier work, *"China's Geographic Foundations"* (New York, 1934), gives a more detailed account of Tibet's geography.

13. Cressey, *"China's Geographic Foundations"*, pp. 384-85. The author estimates that the average annual rainfall does not exceed 12 inches. There is more abundant rainfall in the south where, probably, it exceeds 32 inches.

14. David Macdonald, *"Tibet"* (London, 1945) gives three geographical divisions: Northern Tibet, Southern Tibet and what he calls Western, or Upper Tibet. Professor Lattimore, *"Inner Asian Frontiers"*, confining himself to Tibet "as an area of human habitation" divides the country into two: (a) the centre, 'a land of great height', and (b) around the periphery of the central mass, 'where streams break down from the upper levels'. Cressey, *"Asia's Lands and Peoples"*, lists seven physical regions: the Himalayan system in the south; the Karakoram routes in the west; the Tsang Po valley; the Chang Tang plateau; the Altyn Tagh and the Kuen Lun systems in the north; the Tsaidan and the Kokonor basins; and Kam in the east.

comes from here, her barley and potatoes, beans and vegetables. In parts of the valley where some irrigation has been made possible, wheat and some soft fruit are grown. The second physical subdivision comprises the Tsaidan and the Koko Nor basins in the north-east, and that 'land of great corrosions', the Kam plains in the east. These are mainly pasture lands where some unirrigated agriculture is also possible. The third area embraces the districts of western or upper Tibet which contain the great mines of Jalung.

To undertake to define Tibet's physical boundaries, and her area and population is no easy task.[15] Thus geographical Tibet also includes what emerged in 1928 as the Chinese provinces of Chinghai and Sinkiang, areas which along with Kansu and Szechwan have always been regarded by the Tibetans as part of their land. So also a large part of what the Tibetans regard as an integral part of their country is, theoratically at any rate, within Sinkiang. These factors will explain the wide divergences in the estimates regarding her physical measurements. Thus Dr Richard gives Tibet's greatest length, east-west wise, as 1,240 miles, its greatest breadth, north to south, as 740 miles and the area as 463,320 square miles. In some cases this estimate of half a million square miles just about doubles itself.[16] Population estimates are also extremely varied. Thus in 1907 the Chinese Government computed the population at 6,430,000, while 15 years later its figures fell to 1,500,000! This leaves a margin of 5 millions between the lowest and the highest estimates.[17]

15. Schuyler Cammann, *"Trade through the Himalayas"*, (Princeton, 1951), p. 3, distinguishes three Tibets—the geographical, the cultural and the historical. He points out that there is a hard core common to all of them, what he calls "the 'Tibet' of our maps". This he has called "political Tibet".

16. L. Richard, *"Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire"*, translated by M. Kennelly, (Shanghai, 1908). *"Tibet"*, (prepared by the British Foreign Office, Historical Section, vol. XII, No. 70, London, 1920), gives the east-west length as 1,370 miles, the north-south width as 820 miles, and the estimate of area as 500,000 square miles. Bell, *"The People of Tibet"* p. 1, estimates the area as 800,000 square miles; Cressey, *"Asia's Lands and People"*, p. 160, at 1 million square miles.

17. Quoted in Edward Thomas Williams, "Tibet and her neighbours", *California University Publications in International Relations*, (Berkley, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1937). Bell, *"The People of Tibet"*, estimates the population at between 4 and 5 millions; W. F. O'Connor, *"Report on Tibet"*, (Calcutta, 1903), places it between 3·5 and 5 millions.

Two facts emerge from this necessarily brief survey. At the outset one notices the appalling fact that for its large area the country is for the most part uninhabited. If a compromise figure of 4 millions be accepted for its population and the area be reckoned at 500,000 square miles, the density per square mile does not exceed 8; in the most thickly peopled areas around Lhasa it has been estimated to be 15. This thinness of her population seems to be a matter of concern even to Tibet's new masters.[18] The sparsity, stark as it is, is further accentuated by the large number of monasteries in the country, and their armies of idle monks or lamas. It has been estimated that nearly one Tibetan in every three is a monk, one woman in every fifteen a nun.[19] As if this were not enough the prevalence of polyandry has meant a declining birth-rate.[20] The real working population is thus pitifully small. That will partly explain why Tibet's resources have, to this day, remained completely unexploited and she lives in what Sir Charles Bell calls the 'feudal age'.[21] Until a few years ago she was, as far as transportation went, a country without a wheel—the Tibetan prayer-wheel is, of course, well-known.[22]

The second fact that stands out rather prominently is that this scanty population is largely concentrated in the valley around Lhasa, where some settled agriculture has been possible. Professor Lattimore maintains that nearly five-sixths of the settled area of Tibet is distributed over an arc running from west of Lhasa in the Tsong-po valley around by the east and north-east to the Kansu frontier.[23] The valley is easy of access from the other areas of Tibet and marks a dividing line between the settled agricultural area surrounding it and the outlying pasture lands. As for its

18. In a recent interview with a Tibetan delegation Red China's President, Mao Tse-tung, is reported to have emphasised that Tibet must give more attention to her population problem. He is said to have suggested that she must have at least 10 million people. *New York Times*, November 26, 1952.

19. Bell, *"Portrait of the Dalai Lama"*, (London, 1946), p. 17.

20. Heinrich Harrer, *"Seven Years in Tibet"* (London, 1953), p. 196, observes that though polygamy and polyandry prevail, the average practice is monogamy.

21. Bell, *"Portrait"*, p. 17.

22. Lowell Thomas, Jr, *"Out of this World to Forbidden Tibet"*, (London, 1951), was amazed at the complete absence of any wheeled traffic.

23. Owen Lattimore, *"Inner Asian Frontiers"*, p. 207.

locale in regard to Tibet's principal neighbours, the valley is comparatively distant from the east and north, though relatively closer to the south. Thus though not ideally situated it has become the real nerve-centre of the country, and the focal point for its main highways.[24] Lhasa, the Mecca of all Tibetans and for many others besides, is situated in the valley and is the seat of the Tibetan Government.

Even the most cursory glance at Tibet's geography, and ours has been a somewhat detailed examination, makes one wonder how the barren and treeless wastes of this high plateau, with a small but shrinking population, living under a mediaeval if not indeed primitive social system, should have excited the cupidity and invited the wrath of an alien army. This oddity becomes the more striking when one recalls that long and intensive explorations (in the last quarter of the 19th century) in and around Tibet, the Karakorams and the Pamirs had led to the highly satisfying discovery—highly satisfying, that is, for the rival British and Russian imperialisms then contending for supremacy in these areas—that no route existed across high Asia which could be used for artillery and wheeled traffic.[25] Nevertheless what made the land of the lamas important then, as perhaps now, was her geographical location vis-a-vis her huge, populous and powerful neighbours in the south and in the east, and the not very distant yet sprawling landmass of Asiatic Russia that lay to her north and west. These three physical giants of Asia, peripheral to Tibet, have all influenced her past and have to some extent been influenced by it.[26] It may be

24. *Ibid.*, p. 214. Professor Lattimore considers Tibet as a convenient "transfer-point" for Tibet's eastern and southern neighbours.

25. Sir Francis Edward Younghusband, *"The Heart of a Continent"*, 2nd Edition, (London, 1937), Introduction. See also the same author's *"The Light of Experience"*, (London, 1927), pp. 3 and 40.

26. Robert Strausz-Hupe, *"Geopolitics"* (New York, 1942) makes three observations on Tibet which are interesting especially in the light of recent developments in that country.

(a) That in the Curzonian sense she constitutes a "tough buffer", and the real reason why neither the Russians, nor yet the British, were able to dominate her in the 19th century was her "inherent climatic and topographical" characteristics, (p. 205).

(b) That along with Turkey, Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan she formed "a zone of separation between the Eurasian Heartland and the marginal crescent of sea-power". (p. 208).

useful at this stage to attempt a brief historical conspectus of this relationship if only to place the Younghusband expedition in its proper perspective.

III

One of the significant features of Tibet's early contacts with her neighbours is the intimacy and closeness of her ties with India. Even the origins of the Lhasa kingdom which brought about the final political unity of the three distinct yet disparate regions that comprise Tibet can be traced to Indian influences. Thus Tibet's first historical king, the 7th century A.D. Song-tsen Gam-po,[27] is believed to have come from Ladakh, whose proximity to the Indus, and hence Indian influence, is widely accepted.[28] Since Song-tsen Gampo looms rather large in Tibetan annals—he unified the country and is said to mark "the dawn of Tibetan civilisation"—his association with India is not without significance.[29] Another early Indian influence is in Lamaism, which may be regarded as a comingling of the corrupt northern Indian Buddhism of the eighth century with the indigenous Tibetan Bon religion. This admixture

(c) That she constitutes the most formidable barrier to military penetration to be found anywhere on earth", and that she is the only separating "natural frontier left today on this globe." (p. 232).

27. Bell, *"Tibet"*, pp. 23-25. One is struck by the fact that any account of this king reads like that of Peter the Great of Russia, or even of Alfred the Great of England. Thus he is reported to have retired into seclusion to learn reading and writing and to have evolved written characters for the Tibetan language so that the sacred books brought over from India could be translated. Bell bases his account on a Tibetan work, *"Puton Rimpoche's Cho-chung."*

28. For the early history of Tibet in general, and of Song-tsan Gampo in particular, see Rev. A. H. Francke, "The Kingdom of Nya-Khri-btsampo, the first king of Tibet", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VI, Calcutta, 1910. Dr. Francke contends that the pre-Tsong-tsan Gampo Tibet must correspond to Ladakh.

29. Bell, *"Tibet"*, p. 23.

30. L. A. Waddell, *"The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism"*, (London, 1899, Cambridge, 1939) is regarded as an authoritative interpretation of Tibetan religion. See also Bell, *"The Religion of Tibet"*, (Oxford, 1931).

owed much to an Indian missionary, one Padma Sambhava.[30a] A Tantrik Buddhist, hailing from Udhayana in north-western India, Padma Sambhava is one of the patron saints of Tibet, and one of the chief gods of the Red Hat sect, the followers of the original Buddhism of Tibet.[31] In his wake many Indian religious teachers visited the country, the greatest of them being Atisha who came to Tibet in the XI century. The cave where the Indian savant is said to have lived is a few miles outside Lhasa and is still preserved.[32] The Indian 'traffic' to Tibet was by no means a one-way affair for many Tibetan monks travelled in the reverse direction to visit the holy places of Buddhism and maintained close contacts with Indian monasteries in Bengal.[33]

In contrast to the spiritual and cultural influences from India,[34] the Chinese impact on Tibet has been mainly in regard to material things: the habit of drinking tea, the mode of dress of the people, and of furnishings in a Tibetan home. And yet the Mongols and their successors who for long held Tibet as a part of their vast Chinese dominions were responsible for the institutions of the Dalai and the Panchen, a reformed Tibetan church, and the broad outlines of the patron-chaplain relationship that was to subsist for centuries between the rulers of China and the pontiffs of the Yellow Hat in

30a. Professor Lattimore calls the early religion of Tibet "syncretic Buddhism." He maintains that since Padma Sambhava came into Tibet from Kashmir, and therefore presumably through Ladakh, the supposition that the Lhasa kingdom was created by a conquest based on Ladakh and resulting in the transfer of the royal capital from Ladakh to Lhasa would be very much strengthened. Owen Lattimore, *"Inner Asian Frontiers,"* p. 223.

31. Bell, *"Tibet"*, p. 26.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 27 Bell bases his account of these visits on a Tibetan work, *"Gye-rap Sal-we Me-long."*

34. N. B. Roy, "India and Tibet, cultural contacts", *Modern Review,* (Calcutta), LXXXIII, (March, 1953), pp. 205-6, suggests that in making their 'fabric of civilisation' the Tibetans borrowed impulses primarily from India. He reveals that a Tibetan minister, Thou-mi-Samhotta, was deputed to India in the middle of the 7th century to study and transcribe Buddhist texts and that before the well-known Padma Sambhava went to Tibet another Indian saint, Santa Rakshita, had been invited by Tibet's chief, Ti-Song-De Tsen.

Tibet.[35] That relationship was to undergo many changes during the 18th century principally in the wake of the Chinese armies marching across the land. They came ostensibly to repel the attack of the Mongols from the north and of the Gurkhas from the south yet in reality to tighten the reins of control over the Dalai's domains.[36]

Sandwiched between the Chinese invasions are the early British efforts to open the land of mystery and snow. The aim of Warren Hastings, as of the Hon'ble East India Company which he served, was to find new markets for British goods. It is not unlikely that a vague feeling was also entertained that through 'her little-known backyard' China itself might be made more accessible. Essentially thus the missions of George Bogle and Samuel Turner were essays in commercial diplomacy. That both the envoys of so enthusiastic a sponsor as Hastings failed in their attempts to establish trade-marts, or even to obtain permission for British merchants' access to the lands of the thunderbolt (Bhutan and Sikkim), was due not so much to their want of trying as to the fears and doubts which assailed Tibet's lamas in respect of the dark motives and motivations of the 'firinghies'.[37]

The next hundred years in the story of Britain's repeated efforts to 'open' Tibet are somewhat uneventful. True, the half-

35. Lest this summary statement give a false impression it may be emphasised that the most important Mongol influences on political institutions in Tibet was not under the Mongol dynasty in China (1260-1368) but in the 16th and 17th centuries when Mongol ascendancy had been finally superseded by the Manchus in 1623. Thus the most important Mongol influence was during the period of rearrangement in Inner Asia characterised by the decline of the Ming dynasty (late 16th century) followed by stage-by-stage Manchu conquests of China, Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang.

36. For details refer to Luciano Petech, "*China and Tibet in the early 18th century, History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet*", (Leyden, 1950). Dr. Petech traces the various stages, and the varied political experimentation, through which the Manchu-Tibetan relationship passed to "the only possible form of control over Tibet,"—with the right of control and supervision, even direct participation in the government.

37. Apart from George Bogle's "Diary" compiled by Clements R. Markham in his "*Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*", (London, 1876) and Samuel Turner, "*An Account of an Embassy to the Court of Teshoo Lama in Tibet, containing a narrative of the journey through Bhutan and part of Tibet*", (London, 1906), a summary of Bogle's impressions on Tibetan trade may be found in "*Selections from Indian State Papers preserved in the*

eccentric Manning succeeded in reaching Lhasa, or the 'brilliant' Colman Macaulay prepared himself, with evident enthusiasm, for leading an official mission. But Manning who went in disguise achieved practically nothing and the 'exigencies of political considerations' led to the countermanding of Macaulay's projected venture.[38] And yet these hundred years witnessed a great change in the over-all picture. The wars with Bhutan and Sikkim in 1861 and 1865 which climaxed the undisputed mastery of the British over the Indian sub-continent seemed further to confirm Tibetan suspicions of British intentions. Nor were the clandestine Indian explorers—a Nain Singh, a Krishna or a Sarat Chandra Das—sponsored by their British masters and roaming the Tibetan countryside with their sextants and prisms and measured beads designed to allay these fears.[39] Meantime another important factor had been introduced into the situation: a rapid decline in the prestige and authority of the Manchu A'mbans at Lhasa. This decline which reflected the defeats and humiliations of the Middle Kingdom at the hands of the 'foreign devils' synchronised with the emergence of the powerful figure of the 13th Dalai Lama.[40]

Foreign Department, 1772-1785,"—Vol. I, pp. 251-54. For a brief account reference may be made to Younghusband, "*India and Tibet*" (London, 1910), pp. 7-29; and for a critical appraisal to Schuyler Cammann, "*Trade through the Himalayas,*" pp. 27-85.

38. A full account of Manning's journey is in Markham, "*Narratives,*" referred to in Footnote 37. See also Graham Sandberg, "*The Exploration of Tibet*", (Calcutta, 1904), Dr. Tarak Nath Das, "*British Expansion in Tibet,*" (Calcutta, 1927), p. 6. Dr. Yao-ting Sung seems to suggest that Manning's mission was officially inspired, he being Minto's "instrument" when he (Lord Minto) "resumed Lord Hastings (sic) unfinished task of opening Tibet for British trade." The Chinese scholar's reference obviously is to Warren Hastings. Yao-ting Sung, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

39. The useful knowledge, under conditions of the utmost severity, which these remarkable Indian explorers brought need not blind us to the distrust which they inspired, especially after their activities had become known. Sarat Chandra Das' "*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*", edited by W. W. Rockhill, (London, 1902) is highly informative. For secondary sources refer to Sir Thomas Holdich, "*Tibet, the Mysterious*", (London, 1906), pp. 231-32, Sandberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-72, Bell, "*Tibet*", p. 59 and Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

40. The title Dalai Lama is Mongolian in origin and is used mainly by the Chinese and the Mongols. The Tibetans know their ruler as Kyam-gon Rimpoche (The Precious Protector); Gye-wa Rimpoche (The Precious Sovereign); Buk (The Inmost Protector); Lama Pon-po (The Priest Officer), He is also known as Kundun (The All-Knowing Presence or just simply the Presence). See Bell, "*Tibet*", pp. 54-55 and Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

The importance of these varied yet inter-related developments came out in sharp relief when the Chinese for, and on behalf of, their wards concluded with the British the Sikkim Convention of 1890 and the Trade Regulations of 1893. The former sought to define the Tibet-Sikkim boundary, the latter spelled out in detail the trading facilities which British subjects were to enjoy in Tibet. It is significant that the country most vitally concerned in both these arrangements was not a party to either. That perhaps explains much of the subsequent drama, Tibet's blunt refusal to be bound by any of the stipulations, China's inability to make her do so, and growing British disgust with the resulting situation. Yet despite these frustrations, Lord Elgin's government (in India) displayed a remarkable forbearance with the doings of some fanatical hot-heads across the Sikkim frontier and a sympathetic understanding of the veritable delays and the circuitous diplomacy of the Chinese. Thus the Tibetans simply ignored the agreements, contending that these lacked their consent. In 1895 they occupied certain areas on the Sikkim side of the border, and refused to open Yatung, that 'uninhabited narrow hole in a deep valley', as a trade-mart. In fact the Tibetans built walls on their side to prevent anyone from meeting the British! No wonder that the trade regulations of 1893 though admirable on paper remained a dead letter in practice.[41] Despite these provocations the Indian Viceroy displayed considerable patience : he argued that the Tibetans had a 'reasonable' claim to the areas into which they had moved,[42] that the 1890 treaty did not provide for pillars along the frontier, and that no serious damage had been done to British trade from an undemarcated frontier.[43] While his detractors condemned this

41. Chinese writers have tried to explain the Tibetan refusal to accept or abide by the understandings. It is contended that the British demands were so extensive that it was impossible for the Tibetans to accept them, that the Chinese had not given "proper thought" to the Tibetan opposition, and that the Tibetans were ignorant both of international law and custom. Yao-ting Sung, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25. Another Chinese scholar maintains that the privileges enjoyed by the British in Tibet were not extended to the Tibetans reciprocally, and that in laying the 1890 boundary some Tibetan territory had been marked off as Sikkimese. Li Tieh-tseng, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

42. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, No. 16, p. 52.

43. *Ibid.*, No. 13, p. 25. These boundary pillars had been built by zealous British 'frontier' officers, and destroyed by infuriated Tibetans. This 'aggression' was regarded as sufficient reason for 'strong action' against the offenders. Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, pp. 59-65.

policy of 'conciliation' and 'forbearance',[44] his supporters could point to the fact that British trade with Tibet had continued to mount up, that it had actually expanded nearly 500 percent between 1890 and 1898.[45]

Lord Elgin's policy of patient waiting, however, did not last long. His critics declared it to be totally ineffectual and his successor, who was to play so vital a role in determining the new approach was signally lacking in this admirable quality.[46] Our next preoccupation would be an understanding of Lord Curzon's 'new look' against the background of his early career and of his viceroyalty's manifold problems.

IV

The remarkable change that took place when Lord Elgin handed over the reins of office to his successor Lord Curzon,[47] early

44. Younghusband, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

45. Trade figures for .. 1890-91 .. Rs. 3,80,081
.. 1894-95 .. Rs. 11,49,150
.. 1897-98 .. Rs. 17,03,060
Tibet Papers, op. cit., pp. 50 and 73.

46. "Nothing could have been milder, more patient, and more forbearing and as it proved, less effectual." Younghusband, *"India and Tibet"*, p. 56.

47. Curzon was the eldest son of Lord Scarsdale, Vicar of Kedleston, and was born in 1859. He was educated in Eton and later at Oxford, being elected a Fellow of All Souls in 1882. Between 1882 and 1895 he undertook two round-the-world trips and visited most of the countries in Central Asia and Far East. In 1891 he became Under Secretary of State for India in Lord Salisbury's administration, holding his post till 1892. In 1895 he became Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Between 1898 and 1905 intervene the years of his Indian Viceroyalty. After his return from India he was out of political life for a decade. Later in Lloyd George's Coalition Government he became Britain's Foreign Secretary. For sometime he retained this office even under Baldwin, though later he was Lord President of the Council. Curzon who aspired to be Britain's Prime Minister, died in 1925. Apart from Lord Ronaldshay (later Marquess of Zetland) *"The Life of Lord Curzon,"* 3 Vols., (London, 1928), cited hereafter as *Life*, Sir Harold Nicholson, *"Curzon, the Last Phase"*, (New York, 1939) and Lovat Frazer, *"India under Curzon and After"*, (London, 1911) provide authoritative studies. Some critical sketches are: Shane Leslie, *"Studies in Sublime Failure"*, (London, 1932)), E. T. Raymond, *"Portraits of the New Century"*, (New York, 1921), and "28 Years in India", (Charles James O'Donnell), *"The Failure of Lord Curzon"*, (London, 1903). For panegyrics or uncritical eulogies, see H. Caldwell Lipsett, *"Lord Curzon's India"*, (London, 1903) or Sardar Ali Khan, *"Lord Curzon's Administration of India"*, (Bombay, 1905). The Earl

in 1899, was nowhere better revealed than in the new Viceroy's approach towards Tibet. From the previous policy of 'patient waiting' there was a sudden shift to one of impatient hurry. It is this violent break with the past, and the developments consequent thereupon, which form the subject-matter of the present study. Before examining these it may be helpful to size up the man who was to play so important a role in the Tibetan drama.

George Nathaniel, 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, was no stranger to India or the East at the time he assumed the Viceroyalty. Years later he confessed that India "haunted him like a passion" even from his infancy. This "fascination and ..... the sacredness (of India)" had been born of his intense enthusiasm for Britain's vast Asian Empire, "more populous, more beneficient and more amazing" than that of Rome.[48]

Apart from his preoccupation with the Empire which grew with the years, the young Curzon displayed even at Eton a remarkable power of hard work, and a rare maturity of mind. A contemporary, Lord Esther, held that Curzon remained to the last an Eton boy, "brilliant, broad-minded, lavish of his endowments.... mature at 18."[49] Another epithet that he earned early, and that stuck to him late, was "superior". As a young boy at school he is reported to have displayed a self-confidence which bordered on the boisterous, a remarkable impatience with opposition and an assumption of airs and graces which in an undergraduate democracy seemed to verge on the ridiculous. No wonder, he was the subject of many a doggerel as a student and later, in his long public career, of so much misunderstanding.[50]

of Middleton, *"Records and Reactions"*, (London, 1939), and Sir Stanley Reid, *"The India I Knew, 1897-1947"*, (London, 1952) provide interesting side-lights on the Curzon epoch.

48. Sir James Fitz James Stephen's address to the Eton Literary Society first attracted Curzon's thoughts to the Empire. See Lovat Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 8, and Ronaldshay, *Life*, I, p. 28.

49. Quoted in Shane Leslie, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

50. A Balliol composition ran thus:

I am a most superior person, Mary,
My name is George N-th-n-l C-rz-n, Mary,
I'll make a speech on any political question of the day, Mary,
Provided you'll not say me nay, Mary.

Ronaldshay, *Life*, I, p. 41.

"To the average man", says Harold Nicholson, "Curzon seemed above the average—as someone, therefore, to be derided and condemned." Harold Nicholson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Apart from his student days nowhere perhaps is Curzon better revealed than in his early books and travels. The prancing proconsul with a megalomania for territory emerges very clearly from the pages of a "Russia in Central Asia"[51] or of a "Persia and the Persian Question", or of the globe-girdlings which increasingly brought home to him the fascination and the mission of the Empire.[52] Nor could it be sufficiently emphasised that he had been Under-Secretary for India and for Foreign Affairs before he occupied the Viceregal throne. Both facts are of importance. For strange as it may appear one gets the unmistakable impression from the career of this otherwise remarkable man that his mental horizon did not much widen after his late teens. In fact the obsessions of his early schooldays, confirmed indeed by his travels, were expanded and elaborated in his books even as he continued to wrestle late with some of his early experiences in administration.[53] Thus the proposition, "Are we justified in regarding with equanimity the advance of Russia towards our Indian frontier?", which he debated at Eton while not yet quite twenty continued to form the subject of his serious pre-occupations for the remainder of his long public career.[54] Another early 'flame' which has been traced to his youthful years at Oxford was the "Empire." And it is amazing that the almost religious seriousness with which he viewed the duties and responsibilities which it entailed did not diminish even when many an early votary had been disillusioned by the jolts administered by World War I.

51. The exact title was *"Russia in Central Asia in 1889"*. This volume which appeared in 1889 was the result of Curzon's first round-the-world trip in 1888.

52. The "1300 pages and 7 pounds weight of solid print", the two volumes of *"Persia and the Persian Question"*, (London, 1892) was followed two years later by *"Problems of the Far East"*. The books represented an amount of dogged work which was amazing and a characteristic Curzonian approach to Asian problems which won many supporters.

53. In 1885 Curzon had acted as Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Salisbury, towards the close of 1891 he became Under-Secretary of State for India, remaining in that office until 1892. From 1895 to 1898 he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Later as Lord Privy Seal (1915-1919) and as Foreign Secretary (1919-1924) Curzon stuck to his earlier beliefs and prejudices. For details see Harold Nicholson, *op. cit.*

54. The debate took place at Wolley Dod's on May 7, 1877. For details see Ronaldshay, *Life*, I, pp. 143-44.

Not yet forty, the brilliant, ambitious and—to use an epithet which stuck to him through life—the 'superior' Baron, later Marquess, Curzon of Kedleston stepped into the shoes of the gentle and suave Elgin. Few men could have been better qualified for the Viceroyalty; few indeed could claim his variety of experience and knowledge of Asian problems. India had been the fever and passion of his youth, and India was pivotal to his concept of the Empire. Indeed Curzon thought India was the political pillar and the true fulcrum of Britain's Asiatic dominion. "The secret of the mastery of the world (the Empire of Hindustan)," he wrote in the Preface to his *"Problems of the Far East,"* "is, if only they knew it, in the possession of the British people." He was convinced that Britain's position in India gave her the certain command of the main land-routes and the railroads that will lay open the Far East in the not distant future.[55] It is necessary to recall that the India of Curzon's days was not the physically truncated India of today but an India that comprised Burma in the east and Aden and the Persian Gulf ports in the west: a "continental order" based on India and extending its authority from Aden to Hong Kong.[56] In fact before he came to rule over the country Curzon had visited India four times, and he knew at first hand most Asian rulers and their countries: he had met the Shah of Persia, the Amir of Afghanistan, the King of Korea, the ruler of Siam (with whom he frequently corresponded), the Emperor of Annam and the King of Cambodia.

It is against this background of the man and his ideas that his handling of the Tibetan question must be considered. Nor should that question be viewed as if in isolation. In fact there is a close bearing of both the Persian and the Afghan problems on his dealings with Tibet. Lord Curzon's policies in regard to all three were closely akin, for the basic question, as he viewed it, was the same in each case. And this was to check the Russian advance as far away from the Indian glacis, and as effectively, as possible.

55. Curzon, *"Problems of the Far East,"* (London, 1894), p. 435.
56. Guy Wint, *"The British in Asia,"* (London, 1947), p. 21.
In a speech at Southport, on March 15, 1893, Curzon said,

"It is only when you get to see and realise what India is—that she is the strength and greatness of England—it is only then that you feel that every nerve a man may strain, every energy he may put forward, cannot be devoted to a nobler purpose than keeping tight the bonds that hold India to ourselves."

Quoted in Ronaldshay, *Life,* I, p. 193.

Another factor that cast a grim and fearful shadow on his Tibetan policy was the growing tension that developed in his relations with his political superiors at home. The battles which he fought with them, and the 'victories' which he claimed to have scored left a deep cleft that grew deeper as the years rolled by. Thus between 1899 and 1902 his relations with India Office cooled appreciably. In the earlier year he had more or less openly defied Lord Salisbury's instructions as regards the Sultan of Oman by despatching a naval squadron from Bombay and obtaining from the ruler a public rescission of his concession to the French under threat of a direct bombardment of his palace.[57] In the latter year he solicited the King's direct intervention after the Secretary of State and the Cabinet had refused his suggestion that the Imperial Durbar (of 1903) should be associated with a Royal proclamation of some tax relief. In between the two episodes there were others—his ruthless condemnation of the institution of the Presidency Governors, his demand that the expense of Indian representatives at the King's coronation should be borne by HMG, the India Council's criticism of the Viceroy's appointment of the Police Commission, and of his projected educational reforms—and they all served to leave a very unhappy impress on the relations between London and Calcutta.[58]

In analysing Lord Curzon's approach towards Tibet two distinct stages are readily discernible. The watershed is provided by the despatch of January 8, 1903. In the early part of his viceroyalty Curzon, abandoning the policy of forbearance and conciliation, had tried a direct approach to the master of the Potala. China was ignored and the Tibetan pontiff reminded of the seriousness of the British intent. Curzon who had condemned the old approach as both "unproductive and inglorious,"[59] insisted that his "new look",

57. For details refer to Ronaldshay, *Life*, II, pp. 45-46. For a brief discussion see P. E. Roberts, *"History of British India under the Company and the Crown,"* Third Edition, (London, 1952), pp. 521-22.

58. At the height of the Durbar episode Curzon had written to Balfour in an extremely unforgiving tone:

> "You have never served your country in foreign parts. For your sake, I hope you never may. English governments have always had the reputation of breaking the hearts of their pro-Consuls from Warren Hastings to Bartle Frere. Do you wish to repeat the performance?" Ronaldshay, *Life*, II, p. 244.

59. Letter to George Hamilton, March 30, 1899. *Tibet Papers*, Cd. 1920, No. 26, pp. 74-75.

to borrow a somewhat over-worked yet significant phrase, was designed to achieve "results."

The Viceroy's preliminary sizing up of the problem, made not long after he assumed office, provides the key to his thinking on the subject.[60] In this he suggested,

That Yatung, on the Tibet side of the frontier, which under the Regulations of 1893 had been fixed as a post for Indian trade "can never be expected to be a real mart." To counter this he was prepared to cede to the Tibetans land in the neighbourhood of Giagong (which they "are so desirous of retaining") if P'hari, further up in the Chumbi valley, be thrown open to trade without any restrictions. The Viceroy also suggested, and this is significant, that there be an option of sending a British official to visit P'hari and to reside there—"if this should prove desirable."

That negotiations with the Chinese Resident are not likely to prove fruitful: "We seem....to be moving in a vicious circle. If we apply to Tibet we either receive no reply, or are referred to the Chinese Resident." And if the Chinese Resident is approached, "He excuses his failure by his inability to put any pressure upon Tibet." In a letter to Lord George Hamilton a week earlier the Viceroy had described the position regarding China as "most ignominious" and the use of the Chinese Amban as intermediary, "an admitted farce."[61]

60. Letter to Lord George Hamilton, March 30, 1899, *Tibet Papers,* Cd. 1920, No. 26, pp. 74-75.

61. Letter to Lord George Hamilton, March 23, 1899. Quoted in Ronaldshay, *Life,* II, p. 38.

A brief allusion to the Amban's office vis-a-vis the Manchu rulers of China may not be out of place here. It is noticeable that in the earlier period of Manchu rule over China, European writers used terms like 'Tartar' to distinguish the Manchus from the Chinese, and it was relatively clear to the reader that the Chinese were a conquered nation living under foreign rulers who were also the sovereigns of Mongolia and Tibet. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, with the Opium War and the forcing on China of dictated treaties, this distinction began to be lost; the Manchu Emperor is increasingly referred to as "emperor of China" and even "Chinese Emperor". This shift corrsponded with the fact that in truth the Manchus were more and more being absorbed among the Chinese, and high government positions were increasingly held by the Chinese rather than the Manchus. In such outlying domains as Mongolia and Tibet, however, the highest appointments as representatives of the "Chinese" state continued, as a rule, to be occupied either by the Manchu or by "Chinese bannermen" i.e. descendants of Chinese

Born of his impatience with the Chinese "farce", Lord Curzon was thus suggesting a straight and direct approach to the Tibetans, accompanied by a broad hint regarding a British official visiting and residing in Tibet—"if this proves desirable." The Secretary of State's reaction was very favourable in regard to the first suggestion, though he doubted the "expediency" of the second. He feared it might cause "complications", and even delay the settlement of the "essential" part of the negotiations.[62]

The correspondence that ensues is concerned largely with the implementation of the policy enunciated in this initial exchange. The Bhutan vakil in Lhasa, one Kazi Ugyen, was approached for an informal approach to the Dalai. He was armed with the promise that the Tibetans would be "liberally" rewarded for any rights which they might concede in the Chumbi valley.[63] This mission, however, proved a failure and the viceroy making another effort entrusted a personal letter to a Chaktar Urkh, one of the two governors of Western Tibet. Here too keen disappointment awaited Lord Curzon, for six months later the Viceroy's letter was returned unopened. The Governor protested that "in the face of regulations against the intrusion of foreigners into Tibet" he had not dared to send it to Lhasa. Still undaunted, and now for the third time, the Viceroy had another try at it. Kazi Ugyen who was paying a visit to Lhasa was entrusted with a letter in which the Indian potentate warned the Tibetan pontiff that if his (Lord Curzon's) overtures failed, his government "must reserve their right to take such steps as may seem to them necessary and proper." In his despatch to Lord George Hamilton he advocated the adoption of "some practical measures" if his attempts should fail.[64]

who, at the time of the Manchu conquest, had entered the Manchu service as hereditary retainers and had been organised in "banner" formations parallel to the Manchu banners. "Amban" is not a Chinese but a Manchu title, or rank, and those who held office carrying this designation were, until the very end of the Manchu dynasty, usually Manchus or "Chinese Bannermen" who were considered to be more loyal to the dynasty than ordinary Chinese. From Arthur U. Hummel, (Editor), "*Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*," (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943), it is possible to determine whether "Chinese" officials were in fact Chinese, Chinese Bannermen or Manchus.

62. *Tibet Papers, op. cit.*, No. 27, pp. 99-100.

63. *Ibid.*, Encl. 4, in No. 29, p. 108.

Bell, *Tibet*, p. 62 renders Ugyen as U-gyen. Kazi was a courtesy title bestowed on this "somewhat remarkable man" who was a native of Bhutan. The Hindi word 'vakil' means an advocate, a representative.

64. *Tibet Papers, op. cit.*, No. 37, dated July 25, 1901, pp. 118-19.

Outside the formality of a State paper Lord Curzon had shown his exasperation in a personal letter to the Secretary of State a few months earlier. He confessed therein that he felt completely outraged by the fact that the Dalai had assumed towards him an attitude of contemptuous silence, that in returning his letter unopened he, the all-powerful Viceroy, had been treated as "the pettiest of petty potentates." And he ended, "It is really the most grotesque and indefensible thing that at a distance of a little more than 200 miles from our frontier, this community of unarmed monks should set us perpetually at defiance."[65] One wonders if Kazi Ugyen's warning to the Dalai that "should the Viceroy in Calcutta lose patience, it will not end well for you," or his description of the reigning (Indian) Grand Mogul as "the greatest official under the King" was inspired?[66]

What were the Home Government's views on so strong a plea for an "altered policy", or the urgent adoption of some "practical" measures? The Secretary of State did indeed lack the vigour and fire of Curzonian rhetoric, but his arguments did not lack force. He conceded that relations with Tibet had not been satisfactory and that in such a case "you would be justified in adopting strong measures." But having said that he marshalled argument upon argument against any precipitate move. Thus he reminded the Viceroy that Tibet was "politically subordinate" to China; that the difficult nature of the country would make any military operations hazardous; that the Viceroy's ceaseless pressure for closer relations would be likely to increase "distrust of our intentions" and that any precipitate action "would be viewed with much disquietude and suspicion." He ended by warning the Viceroy against taking any steps "that may involve a risk of the complications that I have indicated."[67]

V

Nowhere perhaps was the gap that lay between the Viceroy's viewpoint and that of the Home Government laid bare more vividly

65. Letter to Lord George Hamilton, dated January 11, 1901. Quoted in Ronaldshay, *Life*, II, p 205.

66. *Tibet Papers, op. cit.*, Annexure to Enclosure 2, in No. 37, p. 120. Even the Dalai in his conversation with the Kazi referred to the Indian Government as "the big Government". *Ibid.*, Encloure 3, in No. 44, pp. 129-30.

67. *Ibid.*, No. 38, dated August 16, 1901, p. 122.

than here. Curzon had always regarded it as axiomatic that where diplomacy failed there was no alternative except to resort to force. As he put it baldly: "Nothing can be or will be done with the Tibetans until they are frightened. I should at once move a few men up to the frontier."[68] This indeed was the basic assumption behind his plea for an "altered policy." For the authorities in London, nurtured in the tradition of the cool and dispassionate Salisbury, what they could not secure by diplomacy they were, usually, willing to forego. The divergence in outlook had been patent from the day the Hon'ble George Nathaniel Curzon was sworn in as the old phlegmatic Salisbury's Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. And Lord George Hamilton's warnings were not, one would suppose, designed so much to carry conviction as to restrain his over-zealous lieutenant.

The Tibetans, it seemed, were playing into his hands too, for the Viceroy's second letter to the Dalai was now returned unopened, the Dalai protesting that he could not enter into any communication before first consulting his Council and the Ambans.[69] Weighing different alternatives for putting future relations on a "more satisfactory footing", the Viceroy rejected one of a complete trade embargo. A second one, of occupying the Chumbi valley, "was not proposed at present." It is significant that the Viceroy did not reject it out of hand. What did he advocate? He proposed that the Political Officer in Sikkim tour along the frontier, that he erect boundary pillars wherever these be necessary or desirable,[70] that grazing grounds which the Tibetans might have occupied at Giagong or elsewhere be cleared, or fees charged for violations. Mr. Claude White, the Political Officer,[71] was to have on his tour an escort of one company of Gurkhas, with another in reserve. The Viceroy was persuaded that his suggested course of action had advantages:

68. Letter to the Secretary of State, June 11, 1901. Ronaldshay, *Life*, II, p. 205.

69. *Tibet Papers, op. cit.*, Nos. 41 and 42, dated October 29 and November 3, 1901, p. 125.

70. Previously boundary pillars had been set up at Jelap La, Donechuk and Doko, besides Giagong. *Ibid.*, Encl. 9 in No. 47, p. 139.

71. John Claude White was Political Officer from 1888 to 1908. In 1904 he was to accompany the Younghusband expedition as Assistant Commissioner. His book, "Sikkim and Bhutan" has been referred to earlier. He had his headquarters at Gangtok (in Sikkim) and was in charge of political relations with Bhutan and Tibet, apart from Sikkim.

if the Tibetans did not resist, the Conventions would be observed, if they did by impeding the Political Officer's approach, by endeavouring to assert Tibetan claims to Giagong or by destroying boundary pillars they would have only themselves to blame for the clash that "may result." Maintaining that these were "the minimum" proposals that he could recommend Lord Curzon emphasised that if the Tibetans showed an attitude of permanent hostility he would seriously advocate an occupation of the Chumbi valley until they agreed to a diplomatic conference at Lhasa!

Another part of Lord Curzon's despatch deserves close scrutiny. While maintaining that the isolationism of the Tibetans was "not difficult to comprehend", he felt it was incompatible either with proximity to the territories of a great civilized power, or with due respect for the stipulations into which the Chinese Government had entered on their behalf. The situation, he felt, was the most "extraordinary anachronism of the 20th century" and must be brought to an end with as little delay and commotion as possible since there were factors in it "that might at a later date invest the breaking down of these unnatural barriers with a wider and more serious significance."

What was the Viceroy's veiled reference to? "Factors in the situation" which were likely to invest the problem with a "wider and more serious significance?" That Lord George Hamilton acquiesced so readily in the Viceroy's proposed course of action would seem to confirm the existence of these "factors."[72] In fact the land of the lamas was fast becoming a hot-bed of intrigue and the sprawling mass of Czarist Russia was casting some dark shadows across the Potala. We may at this stage turn to this part of the story for it profoundly influenced all subsequent developments in Lord Curzon's Tibetan policy.

Few can read Lord Curzon's despatches on Tibet in 1901-1902 without being struck by his restlessness on the unsatisfactory nature of India's relations with Tibet. We have already adverted to his insistence that more "practical" measures were necessary

72. Lord George Hamilton's reply was laconically brief. "I assume", he wrote, "that the officer whom you despatch will be directed not to cross the border in any event, and that he will be in a position to enforce the exclusion of the Tibetans from the British side of the frontier." *Tibet Papers, op. cit.,* No. 45, dated April 11, 1902, p. 130.

in place of the old policy of watchful waiting, and we have noticed that the Home Government opposed though it was to his views, did finally concur in some of his suggestions. In fact not a little of the Viceroy's exasperation with the Tibetan situation arose out of this weird phenomenon: that while the Dalai Lama sent accredited "diplomatic missions" accompanied by autographed letters to the Tsar of Russia, the Indian potentate who rated himself no less important a Grand Mogul was treated with ill-concealed contempt. His sealed letters, sent by special messengers, addressed to "the Illustrious Dalai Lama, Supreme Pontiff of the Great Buddhist Church"[73] were returned unopened on the lame plea that the Dalai was barred communication with the outer world.[74] For not only was there increasing evidence of Russian intrigue but perhaps a growing suspicion that the 13th reincarnation of Chen-rezi was fomenting it. Apart from the Dalai whom his principal biographer[75] has rated a "unique world figure", a Russian Buriat monk, one Aguan Dorjieff, played an important part in this drama. A word in regard to them may not be out of place here.

Any detailed reference to the institution of the Dalai Lama may not be possible in this brief survey. It may suffice here to recall that the office of the Dalai goes as far back as the close of the 14th century, that it was the third of the line who converted Mongolia, that the "Great Fifth" was received by the Chinese Emperor in Peking as if he were an independent sovereign, and that today it is the 14th reincarnation of the first who is the spiritual head of the Tibeto-Mongolian world. Our narrative, however, is concerned with the present Dalai's predecessor: Nag Dang Lo-Sang Theedan Gyarso Gyon Rimboochay, to give him his full name, or perhaps more simply the 13th Dalai Lama. In the long and chequered story

73. Lord Curzon used this form of address for the Dalai. See Annexure in Enclo. 4, in *Tibet Papers, op. cit.*, No. 37, pp. 121-22.

74. In his discussions with Kazi Ugyen expressing his inability to accept the Viceroy's letter, the Dalai reminded him that he was precluded from writing to any foreign government, 'for during the time of Tangya Iling Demoring pochi an agreement was entered into by the Lamas, Sheaffis and and Ambans that no such letters should be written without first consulting the Ambans. Upon the Kazi repeating his request the Dalai told him that he felt himself bound by an agreement concluded by one of his predecessors. *Ibid.*, Encl. 3, in No. 44, pp. 129-30.

75. Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, (London, 1946), published posthumously is dedicated to the 13th Dalai's "long and affectionate friendship".

of the reincarnations of the Tibetan Gods, and for all the 37 summers of his adult life, he exercised the full temporal and spiritual authority vested in his high office. Few before him exercised such powers and though political prophecy is at best a hazardous preoccupation it does not appear likely that any of his successors would achieve that distinction either.[76]

The 13th Dalai was born in June 1876 in a family of ordinary peasants in the province of Tak-po, which lies to the south-east of Lhasa, a few days' journey from the capital. His discovery was a particularly clear one, nor were there any rival candidates. And since the divine indications in his case were so unmistakable, the Tibetan Government refused to make use of the Golden Urn—a proof also perhaps of the weakening of the Manchu-Chinese overlordship.[77] The date shows that this would coincide with the declining prestige of the Manchu Empire because of the Taiping Rebellion and the defeat in the war with Britain and France in 1861. Having been chosen, the young Dalai, hardly two years of age, was brought to Lhasa. His enthronement, however, had to await the confirmation of the Emperor which took nearly a year and was not celebrated until 1879.[78]

A young Dalai's life is certainly not enviable. Separated from his parents, denied any playmates, encaged within the high walls of the Potala—as though a prisoner—and surrounded by austere looking monks the young child grows up in very much of an abnormal atmosphere. From an early age reading and writing are stress-

76. One wonders if the striking combination of those fortuitous circumstances which permitted the 13th to maintain his complete independence of Chinese authority, while keeping the British and the Russians at arms length, would recur. For the present with the tight (Communist) Chinese control at Lhasa and the Indian influence well-nigh eliminated, his successor's plight appears none too enviable.

77. That there was not more than one claimant would not by itself preclude the use of the urn: it was required that there be more than one claimant, thus giving the Manchus a final voice. Bell, *"Portrait"*, p. 46. See also Owen Lattimore, *"Inner Asian Frontiers,"* p. 232.

78. The "enthronement" ceremony takes place in the Potala, and may be regarded as a proclamation to the people of Tibet that the young boy has been recognised as the returned Dalai Lama. The ceremony lasts for several days for each person has to be blessed separately. Bell, *"Portrait"*, pp. 44-5.

ed as also long meditations.[79] The young 13th went through the same mill. His biographer records that his life was deeply secluded and his bane, "study and study and study in the subtleties of this complicated religion!"[80] As he grew up many obstacles were strewed across his path. The young Dalai's Regent[81] who was the head of the Ten-gye-ling monastery in Lhasa had employed his own brother as Chief Minister. The two of them with the help of a third, who was the abbot of a monastery, concocted a plot aiming at the young ruler's life. Great was the horror and indignation with which the discovery of this plot was greeted.[82] The conspirators, when unmasked, were visited with exemplary punishments—the legacy of the bitterness thus generated persisting even to this day.[83] Thus it was later noticed that the monks of the Ten-gye-ling always aided and abetted the Chinese armies whenever they appeared in Lhasa. At that time they started a prophecy that the 13th Dalai was the last of the line: "another way of saying that he was a sham reincarnation."[84]

Apart from this plot, which must have shaken the young ruler violently, there was the important fact that he was an eye-sore to the Chinese. We have already noticed that the Golden Urn was not used at the time of his selection. No wonder that the Manchu

79. Heinrich Harrer, *op. cit.*, p. 163, gives a graphic account of the lonely life of the young Dalai spending hours daily, "praying and studying", in the dark palace rooms of the Potala's golden prison.

80. Bell, *"Portrait"*, p. 49.

81. The Regent who is the head of one of the six leading monasteries at Lhasa, except the Drepung, Sera and Ganden, is chosen for his job by the National Assembly. During the Dalai's minority a Cabinet of four, comprising three laymen and one priest, works directly under him, its chief pre-occupation being affairs of state. For religious affairs a separate Ecclesiastical Council also works under the Regent. Bell, *"Portrait,"* p. 38.

82. Not only were the Regent and his brother punished, but their relatives were not spared either. We are informed that the Minister's wife was brutally flogged and made to sit every day, for a week, in one of the main streets of Lhasa with her wrists manacled and a heavy board round her neck. Later she was exiled.

Bell tells us that the legacy of this bitterness survived even until the 30's. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4 and 56.

83. *Loc. cit.*

84. Alluding to the failure of the plot a Chinese officer of that period is reported to have said that "the affair" had been managed very badly. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Emperor took well-nigh a year to accord approval to his enthronement. Equally the failure of the Regent's plot also denoted a growing weakness of Chinese authority. For usually it was a common Sino-Tibetan effort made for a common cause.[85] One need hardly add that the Chinese were always averse to having a Dalai exercising both spiritual and temporal authority. The 13th, however, had cleared his path, and though entitled to succeed to the sovereignty of Tibet at 18 (17, by our reckoning for the Tibetans take into account both the year of birth as also the current year),[86] he actually did not take over until two years later. And when he did take over he realised that his limitations were of an extreme character. As he confessed to Bell,

> "I came into power when I was 20 years old, but I did not know at all how to govern a country. For the first five or six years it was very difficult ...... However within ten years I had, in some degree, improved the Government."[86]

Ambitious—how ardently had he wished to take over control of worldly power—and extremely hard-working (the shades of Kedleston!) the Dalai's early problems were to check the power of those who had been, for so long, used to exercising it. One of his first acts was to "crack" down on the monks whose rule of Lhasa during the days of the Great Prayer Festival meant considerable lawlessness.[87] He also quietly, but successfully, scotched an attempt by the Chinese Amban to appoint one of his proteges as a Minister in the Tibetan Cabinet.[88]

While in domestic matters the young Dalai seemed gradually to be mastering the difficulties facing him, his handling of Tibet's foreign relations showed neither firmness, nor yet any maturity. That the Chinese control had weakened was patent enough and the Dalai was sufficiently shrewd to ensure that it did not raise its ugly head again. His dealings with India and Russia,

85. Actually the formula—Tibetan, Chinese and Mongol—is that on the first (lunar) New Year's Day after his birth a child is counted as "in his second year".

86. Bell, *"Portrait"*, p. 57.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8. "The good people of Tibet were grateful to their youthful head for his prompt reform."

88. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

however, were not marked by any adroitness. As for the former it appears the clandestine missions sponsored by the authorities in India in the nineteen eighties had frightened the Tibetans. Later the stories of Christian missionaries and the long drawn out conflict over the Sikkim frontier must have added to this initial fright and distrust. To the Tibetans, and their ruler, it seemed equally certain that the British were intent on destroying their freedom and their faith. A disagreeable and an aggressive people who must be kept out at all costs!

Reviews

A HISTORY OF INDIA: By J. C. Powell-Price, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London, 1955. Pages XVI and 679. Plates 63. Maps. 25. Price £. 2-2-0 net.

Mr. Powell Price spent thirty years in the Indian Educational Service and rose to be Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces, now Uttar Pradesh. During all that time he is said to have made a special study at first hand of Indian Archaeology and History. He has now produced this book intended for the general reader and for universities and colleges in Great Britain, India, and Pakistan. The book is superbly produced, and the numerous plates reveal some of the wealth of culture that the historian has to record. The book is a welcome addition to the stock of single volume general histories of India which are none too many.

The quality of the writing is good and the narrative generally compact and vivid. It must be said, however, that the first 100 pages devoted to pre-muslim India fall much below the standard of the later parts of the book. In fact the author is much more at home in dealing with the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal empire than with the movements and personalities of the earlier period; and with regard to the British period he has his own point of view which is that of a conservative Anglo-Indian administrator, and his estimates of the recent phases of the Indian Nationalist Movement and leaders will not command the assent of liberal thinkers even in England. But he leaves the reader in no doubt about his outlook on these matters. On many controversial issues in the earlier phases of British Indian History his estimates are generally carefully thought out and well balanced, though some of these may not satisfy Indian Nationalist opinion.

It is neither possible nor necessary to traverse the entire book in a review like this. We must content ourselves with stating a few salient points calculated to illustrate the general remarks made in the last paragraph. At page 87 Rājendra Chola's fleet is said to have seized Pegu across the Bay of Bengal; at page 206 we

read: 'This was the age of naval expeditions to the east, to Burma and the Malay Peninsula'. At page 94 again we read: 'The Cholas had much to do with the seas of the archipelago and Rājarāja I and his successor Rājendra I at the beginning of the eleventh century when presumably the Śailendra power was failing, records (*sic.*) naval expeditions to Malaya and Sumatra.' The truth is that Rājarāja had friendly relations with the Śailendras; Rājendra sent an expedition against them and the results were disastrous to them; he had nothing to do with Pegu or Burma—a mistake first put forward and then corrected by the archaeological department of Burma. 'Bukka and Hari Hara, two brothers, were officers of the kingdom of Telingana, and escaped when the Muslims overran it in 1323', (p. 162) and subsequently founded Vijayanagar; elsewhere we read that they 'were apparently scions of the Yādava dynasty who once ruled Devagiri' (p. 203); again on the same page they 'appear in fact to have been officers of Vīra Ballāla III, the last of the Hoysalas, and it was he who founded the city of Vijayanagar, before his defeat and death at the hands of the Muslims of Ma'bar in 1342'. There are several inaccuracies in the maps relating to Ancient India; for instance there were no Polygars in the extreme South of India in the 14th century, map 12, p. 175. Nor were the Cholas so powerful in 1316 as map No. 11 on p. 145 implies. It is said: 'There was continuous warfare between the Cholas and the Chālukyas, but finally they became united by marriage, and the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājendra, succeeded to the Chola throne as Kulottunga Chola in 1074, and united it with his own territory of Vengi'; this altogether ignores the distinction between Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī who do not get anything more than a grudging recognition in a table of dates in p. 95 and a passing mention at p. 133. Harsha is said to have written a grammar of Sanskrit, and at his death Arjuna, who is described as 'one of his ministers' is said to have 'seized the throne', apparently of Kanauj. (p. 83). In fact the section on ancient history is the weakest part of the book. There is much wobbling even in spelling: e.g. *Bhakti* on p. 77 is correct, but we have also *Bakti* (164), *Bakhti* on pp. 111, 192, etc., Pandyas on map 4 (correct), but Pandhyas on map 6. In plates 22a and 23a the illustrations have interchanged places with the result that the Tanjore temple figures as the lingaraj temple, Bhuvanesvar, and vice versa. Tangore (p. 365) and Tanjore (p. 390) furnish an instance of the inconsistency in spelling in the

later parts of the book. Another is Rajhuji Bonsla (p. 419) as against Raghuji Bhonsla (438).

The account of the Muslim period, both of the Sultanate and the Mughal empire, follows the lines of the *Cambridge History of India* and other well-known authorities and does not call for comment. 'Sivaji has become a national character among Hindus', says Mr. Powell-Price, 'but the ideas of restoring Hindu supremacy in India attributed to him by modern writers are an attempt to read into his actions more than they well bear' (p. 359). In saying this the author ignores the fact that the last ruler of Vijayanagar, Śrīranga III, was still alive when Sivaji crowned himself as *Chatrapati*; and that Sivaji at any rate in doing this appears to have been quite conscious of his inheriting the time-honoured role of Vijayanagar as the Defender of Hinduism against Islam; there is also Sivaji's celebrated letter to Aurangzeb. How far the successors of Sivaji conformed to this ideal is quite another matter. Sivaji's 'murder of Afzal Khan would take a lot of explaining away—indeed it has become almost a communal question' (360). 'If Mahu Rao I had lived he might have bound the Mahrattas into a great kingdom' (443).

'The story of the Black Hole has of late been much criticised, but there is no reason to believe that it is an invention. The contemporary evidence is too clear. The Black Hole was the prison of the Fort for Military Officers' (426). About the deceit of Amirchand with the device of two copies of the treaty we read: 'This device, abhorrent to modern ideas, was considered justified by the nature of the design and the need for secrecy. But it was even then not in accordance with English ideas of honour' (427-8). We have this on Mir Kasim: 'A strong company and a strong Nawab obviously could not live together, and though the massacre of Patna is a deep blot on the Nawab he had suffered much at the hands of the Company' (433). On Francis's failure to save Nandakumar: 'It is probable that Francis at any rate realized that the death of Nandakumar would do Hastings more harm than any evidence he could ever give. This is a hard accusation to make, but it is justified by the character of Francis' (457). With regard to Chait Singh: 'Hastings had in this affair acted with rashness and marked lack of consideration, but the pretence that Chait Singh was a submissive victim of a tyrant's power will not bear examination'. (466). Hastings is found fault with for ac-

cepting ten lakhs as a personal present from the Nawab of Oudh and this is taken to explain, as other similar transactions, much of the ground for the impeachment of the Governor-General later (467). All deductions made for his defects of personal quality and financial methods, Warran Hastings is still pronounced to be 'one of the greatest men who have ever saved a country' (471).

'The Lion of the Punjab', writes Powell-Price of Ranjit Singh, 'had all the attributes of the King of beasts, including its barbarity and cruelty, while his moral character will not bear investigation' (511). The annexation of Sind 'Napier himself characterised as "a good honest useful piece of rascality," but if he did send the imputed message attributed to him, "Peccavi" [I have sinned (Sind)], it did not mean he was conscious of guilt'. (527-8). The Doctrine of Lapse is carefully analysed in a manner calculated to exonerate Dalhousie (535-8). What the author says of the occurrences of 1857 may provoke much dissent in India, but is well worth the notice of those now engaged in writing the history of the Indian Nationalist Movement. 'It cannot be said that the Mutiny of the Bengal Army was an expression of National Indian resistance to Western influences. There was then no Indian nation as such' (542). The mutiny 'failed because it was only an army mutiny, and only part of the whole army proved disloyal' (548). 'The mysterious *chappatis* of small mud cakes passed from village watchman to village watchman, of which much has been made, had apparently no connection with any mutiny preparations, and there is no evidence that they were at the time connected with the outbreak. Similar exchanges were used to transfer disease away from a locality'. (549). "It was the sepoy army which was the core of the revolt, and not the people, and there was no central direction or national idea behind it. Indeed, the early success was only due to the unexpected nature of the revolt and the lack of troops to suppress it, or the lack of resolution to take immediate action. It never had at any time the slightest chance of success. The pity is that it was ever allowed to materialize.' 'There was at that time no idea of an Indian nation—and it was not a revolt against a foreign occupying power. The sepoy rose as Sir Thomas Munro had prophesied "not for the sake of asserting the liberty of their country, but of obtaining power and plunder". The idea of a revolt for liberty was not within their mental horizon except for their own liberty to do what they

liked. The idea of liberty was not then even remotely glimpsed at in any mind in India, but the whole character of British administration after the Mutiny was directed to two things—the creation of an Indian Nation, and the leading of it towards eventual independence. This may have been accelerated by the Mutiny, but it was not a conscious result of it' (557-8).

On Burma the author says: 'The mistake appears now, looking back, to have been the application to Burma, a distinct country, of the administration of an Indian province, which it was not and never will be. Indeed, the whole idea of administering it from India was a mistake, and led to an Indian Burmese problem which would never have arisen had it been a separate entity.' (579). 'The effect of the Cotton excise was negligible, as the increase of Indian mills from 58 to 1880 to 144 in 1895 shows. It has been criticised, however, as a protectionist device to help Lancashire mills against competition in India from Indian textiles. Actually there was little direct competition, as the range of products differed' (582).

Indian readers are apt to find the last forty pages or so rather unpleasant reading as the nationalist movement and its leaders are judged with studied severity. 'Tilak stood out as the champion of orthodoxy, and formed his "Cow Protection Association" in 1882. This was definitely anti-Muslim, and began the unfortunate dissension between the two communities.' (587). Even Gokhale is not spared, and his condemnation of the Curzon regime in the Congress of 1905 evokes the remark; 'Reality is often far from the picture drawn by politicians intoxicated by their own verbosity, and such talk is all the more dangerous in an emotional and excited atmosphere' (598-9). This of Gokhale ! though it is also conceded that he exercised a moderating influence 'The Muslim League was an answer to the Indian National Congress, necessary because the possibility of self-government raised the spirit of separatism which the intolerance of Tilak had emphasised.' (599). General Dyer's action in Amritsar is excused on the novel ground that the imminence of the Afghan attack on India had much to do with it (608), though earlier Amanullah is said to have planned an invasion of India undoubtedly attracted by the trouble in the Punjab (607).

Lord Morley is said to have considered that Parliamentary Government was the panacea for every ill (604), though it is

notorious that he repudiated all intention of setting India on the road to Parliamentary Government. Mahanadi is said to be in Madras State (580), and a sentence running from p. 454 to 455 seems to have lost one word.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

ANCIENT HISTORY OF SAURASHTRA (being a study of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, V to VIII Centuries A.D.): By Dr. Krishna Kumari J. Virji, Ph.D., Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, 9, New Marine Lines, Bombay 1, 1952. Pages VI and 354. Price—Rs. 22-8-0.

This book is the outcome of the author's thesis approved by the University of Bombay for her Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. She has chosen for her study the political and cultural history of Saurashtra from the earliest times up to the 8th century A.D. The author has utilised the data supplied by the numerous records not only of the dynasty, but also of their contemporaries, when useful for the purpose of elucidating Maitraka history.

This book is divided into three parts —

(i) Hisotry
(ii) Culture
(iii) Geography.

The introduction deals with the ancient history of Saurashtra under the Mauryas, Kushanas, Satavahanas and Guptas. Chapters I to XXI are devoted to the political history of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. There are seven very useful Appendices well worth reading on the Gurjaras. The later Guptas of Malwa, a note on the Gadde-mane Viragal, Date of Harsa Pulakesin War and so on Part (ii) of the book describes the culture of Saurashtra and gives a succinct account of its society, religion, educational and economic conditions. The chapters on Epigraphy and Coinage are interesting and well-written. The list of place names given in the third part (Geography) of the book is interesting and instructive. The author has well utilised relevant epigraphic data in this connection. A comprehensive index, exhaustive bibliography, genealogy, maps and illustrations complete the excellences of this well written and well produced volume.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

CHINESE HISTORY AND WORLD HISTORY, AN INAUGURAL LECTURE: By E. G. Pulleyblank, Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pages 36, price 2s. 6d. net.

This inaugural lecture delivered on 24th February 1955, is a carefully reasoned plea for the study of Chinese History and for an adequate appreciation of the Chinese contribution to the World's culture, in particular to the development of Modern Europe on the basis of techniques first invented in China many centuries back. The lecture starts with a brief survey of the growth of Chinese studies in the University of Cambridge and an assessment of the work of Sir Thomas Wade, H. A. Giles, Dr. A. C. Moule, Gustav Haloun and Dr. Aurther Waley. The bulk of it is devoted to a discussion of the attitude of European thinkers to China and her culture, and a review and critique of Marxist interpretation of an 'historicist' nature—the name is that suggested by Professor K. R. Propper—all of which assume that human history has everywhere followed a common organic pattern of development. Voltaire, Leibniz and Montesquieu, are briefly discussed; Hegel comes in for a round condemnation for his statement that everything that belongs to the spirit is alien to the character of the Chinese people, and all Marxist interpretations inspired by this idea adumbrated in the West, in China and in Japan are also severely criticised. Spengler and Toynbee also come in for brief notices. The author pleads that if Chinese History is studied from the sources on a broad base and with disciplined imagination, it will throw light on 'our own history' i.e. European history in countless ways and show that mankind is indeed one. His appreciative reference to Dr. Needham's, *Science and Civilization in China* (Vol. I Cambridge, 1954) indicates the line he would like such a study to take. Before concluding, he touches the question why China once so much in advance of Europe in Technique fell behind in the race later; he rejects the view that this was due to the Chinese failure to develop suitable banking institutions, which prevented the development of commercial capitalism there. 'China', he concludes, 'cannot be regarded as outside the main stream of human history and is an object of study both worthy in itself and important for our understanding of our own past'.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SECRET AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT SERIES, 1755-1820 compiled by V. G. Dighe with an introduction by P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Government of Bombay Records Series, Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. I, Government Central Press, Bombay, Rs. 5-9-0.

The authorities of the Bombay Government are to be congratulated on the publication of the first volume of the descriptive catalogue of the secret and political department series at a very moderate price. The secret and political Department was set up in 1755 and the records before 1820 (when the diary system was discontinued) consist of about 6000 volumes. A special Committee consisting of Sri G. S. Sardesai, Jadunath Sarkar and the Rev. Father H. Heras, suggested at the end of 1940 that V. G. Dighe, Historical Archivist at the Alienation Office, Poona, be deputed to prepare a descriptive catalogue of the historical portion of the records in the Bombay archives. The descriptive catalogue is the *via media* between the bare press list and the exhaustive calendar. As a preliminary step to calendering it is necessary to have the records properly examined, to get a correct and adequate idea of the period they cover, of the subjects they treat and of the nature of their contents. This will be found very useful both to research workers and administrators by indicating the subject matter of each document and giving further information in its index.

The object of the present catalogue is to indicate in brief the topics treated in the secret and political department series. The political relations of the company's government of Bombay with its neighbours form the subject matter of the sèries. The series opens in the year 1755 and continues to record in detail the developments in Anglo-Maratha politics down to 1818 when the Maratha State became extinct. It also throws abundant light on the relations of the Bombay Government with the Gaikwads, with Angrias of Kolaba and Sawants of Wadi, with Kathiawad and Cutch as seen by several British missions between 1807 and 1820; the history of the Bombay Marine which performed many functions including conduct of expeditions against the pirates of Cutch and Kathiawad and of the Persian Gulf. The organization of the Bombay army, of the defences of the Island of Bombay against enemies from the sea, and the conquest and administration of

Malabar till its transfer to Madras Presidency in 1801 can be pursued in the present series. For a proper understanding of the intrigues of the British Resident at Tellicherry with the Rajas of Coorg, Chirakkal, Cochin and Travancore in order to counteract the power of Tipu Sultan, there is no better source than these diary volumes. The extensive efforts of the French against the British in India and the reaction of the latter power will also be found reflected in these pages. The index at the end of the volume is very helpful.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, the General Editor of the series, in his scholarly introduction explains in a lucid manner, the historical importance of these diary volumes. He also says: "The work is being continued and this volume will be followed by descriptive catalogues of the Public Department and other series." (viii)

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

POONA AKHBARS, Vols. I and II: Published by the Central Records Office, Hyderabad (Deccan)—1953 and 1954.

These Marathi Akhbars or news-letters belong to the period 1776-81 and present to us in relief the tangled and shifting pattern of diplomatic relations and cross-relations which existed at this time between the Marathas, the English, the Nizam and Haidar Ali Khan, Nizam Ali, son of Asaf Jah, who ruled from 1762 to 1802, and the infant Peshwa Madhava Rao II from 1774 to 1795. As a mark of friendship and cordiality, Nizam Ali stationed news-writers at the Peshwa's headquarters. Madhava Rao moved from Purandar to Poona in 1781, and the Akhbars before us were written from those places or their neighbourhood.

The contents of these news-letters have been beautifully summarised by R. M. Joshi in the pretty long introduction of about ten pages. "The Poona Akhbars present the great historical events of the period in a new perspective and furnish us with a wealth of corroborative evidence. They shed exclusive light on a few contemporary incidents. They are of immense value to a reconstruction of the social and general background of the period. Their chronology is highly dependable and will be found useful in checking up the dates of certain events on which other sources

are not quite definite. Their form and manner of presenting historical material is quite instructive." (Vol. I, p. XV). These Akhbars, besides yielding rich material for a reconstruction of the political history of the period, contribute even richer material for the understanding of the social background of the day against which is set the daily court life of the Peshwa. We have in these news-letters also abundant material about the doings of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan between the years 1776 and 1781.

The second volume covers the period from September to December, 1781, "presenting as it does a cross-section view of the great struggle for political ascendency which went on between the Marathas and Haidar Ali Khan on one side and the English on the other side" (II. vi). It also elucidates the financial muddle consequent on the departures from "the well-integrated administrative pattern and principles which had been so carefully elaborated by Shivaji who, among his other great virtues, had a special genius for methodical planning and coordinated control in all matters, economic, administrative or financial" (ii. p. XVI).

Besides the Marathi texts, brief English summaries of the Akhbars have been included in these volumes to make them useful to the general reader. Both volumes contain a glossary of difficult words, and an index of persons and place names.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

SANPURI BAKHAR published by the Daftar-e-Diwani, Hyderabad (Deccan) 1950.

This Modi Bakhar was secured for the Osmania Varsity by late Prof. C. N. Joshi from a Mr. Manik Ganesh Kendrekar of Sanpuri Village in Prabhani district. At the instance of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the Central Record Office of Hyderabad undertook to publish this Modi Bakhar. The foreword by Mr. M. Naseer-Ud-Din Khan, Director of Daftar-i-Diwani, assesses the historical value and the date of the Bakhar. "It is difficult to determine the date of this Sanpuri Bakhar, or to identify its author. However, it is surmised that the manuscript was written between 1776 and 1803, the last year of Nizam Ali Khan's reign, by some one who might have been a dependent of the Rai Rayan, or the Jagirdar of Gangakhed" (ii).

The Bakhar, opens with the year 1689, the year of the death of Sambhaji and ends about 1776. The last historical fact narrated in the manuscript is the despatch of the robes of honour and jewellery to the infant Peshwa, Madhawa Rao II, by Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. The Bakhar supplements the accounts of the Peshwa rule that we get in the Peshwa Daftars and other contemporary Persian sources.

The book is provided with the summary of contents of the Bakhar, the Marathi text, a glossary of difficult words and an index. An index of the English summary of contents of the Bakhar could have been provided.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

HISTORICAL SELECTIONS FROM BARODA RECORDS (NEW SERIES) Vol. I—1826-1835. General Editor: P. M. Joshi. Compiled by V. G. Joshi, Government Press, Baroda, 1955. Pages XV—341.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, the General Editor of the series says in his Foreword: "The present volume marks the inauguration of the publication programme of the Baroda Record Office as contemplated after that office came under the control of the Director of Archives. It is thus the first in a new series. The earlier series consisting of seven volumes dealt with Gaikwad rule up to 1825 A.D. This volume carries the story further over a span of 10 years from 1826 to 1835—politically a crucial period in the reign of Sayaji Rao II."

These 218 sèlected letters throw a welcome light on the character and personality of Sayaji Rao II. "The papers here reproduced would show that Sayaji Rao II possessed, in no small measure, many sterling qualities like independence of spirit, solicitude for public welfare, administrative talent, economy and industry which are deserving of praise." In his succinct foreword, Dr. P. M. Joshi, assess the historical merit of these letters. There is a chronological index to the letters following the foreword which makes for easy reference. The English summaries appended to the text are intended to help non-marathi knowing students. The volume is provided with a glossary of difficult words and an index, and is well got up. There, however, is no indication of the general

plan of the series, of the number of volumes it is likely to comprise, or of the programme of their publication.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

SELECTIONS from UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE JUDGE-MAGISTRATE AND THE JUDGE OF PATNA 1790-1857. Compiled and Edited with an introduction by Dr. K. K. Datta. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar, Patna 1954—pages 421—Price Rs. 5.

The Records studied in this volume were originally in the Record Room of the District Judge of Patna and were shifted a few years back for storage in the Library of the Bihar Research Society. The Records have been conveniently arranged into four main categories—(1) Political, (2) Administrative, (3) Socio-Economic, (4) Cultural, with different sub-sections.

The long introduction of nearly 45 pages by Dr. K. K. Datta, the Editor, discusses the political, administrative and cultural value of these records. From the political point of view, we get significant references to what the English at Patna did with regard to the French men and the French Factory there during the closing years of the 18th century, when the two nations were engaged in a life and death struggle in different parts of the world. There are also some letters relating to the Dutch, the Portuguese and Danes at Patna during the last quarters of the eighteenth century. The letters also disclose the conspiracy of Wazir Ali of Oudh against the company. These letters supply us some valuable information on the Anglo-Nepalese Relations. They throw a welcome light on the early commercial activities of Company in Patna. They enable us to know something about the Currency and Banking activities of the East-India Company in Patna. We have in this correspondence some interesting details about administrative matters like justice, land revenue, jail, postal communications, roads, river, beginning of statistical surveys, etc. Regarding social and cultural aspects we notice some significant references relating to education, sati and widow re-marriage, and the Christian Missionaries. The volume is well got up and priced moderately, but there is no index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

JOURNAL OF THE ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY—Vol. XIX; published by the University, Annamalainagar 1954.

The Editorial Board of the Journal of the Annamalai University deserves to be congratulated on the production of this Journal, which despite its appearance at infrequent intervals maintains a high level of scholarship in its controbutions. This number contains 15 articles of interest, contributed by the Professors and members of the staff of the University and some others. Among the notable contributions may be mentioned Prof. Sri. S. Satchidanandam Pillai's paper on Śaiva Siddhānta, Sri. N. Raghunathan's article on the Concept of Dharma in the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas, Dr. K. C. Varadachari's paper: A Critique of the Philosophies of History, Sri. C. R. Myleru's article on The Tiruvetkalam Temple and so on. There are some good articles on Physics, Mathematics, Engineering and Statistics. The articles in Tamil call for special notice.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

ETHNOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA by Robert Shafer, 1954, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, (1954), with two maps and Index, pp 1-173.

The author, in this work has carefully analysed and explored the Great Epic of India, namely the Mahābhārata, with a view to elucidating ethnic names. The Mahābhārata mentions as many as 300 nations, tribes and regions, and it is laudable on the part of the author to make a study of these names. In this task he has also utilised other forms of early Indian literature like the Purāṇas.

To Mr. Robert Shafer, the Mahābhārata is an Aryan apologia. He is inclined to think that it is essentially the story of native rebellion against Aryan exploitation. He thinks that the ṛṣis who exalted the Aryans and covered the true nature of the struggle were 'Hired publicity men, and outdid some of our modern broadcasters'. Despite these strong views, Mr. Shafer has made a substantial and solid contribution to our knowledge of the historical geography of Ancient India.

The book contains the following sections:

(1) Early inhabitants of Northern India.

(2) Aryan attempts at ethnic classification.

(3) The Aryans and their migration to India.

(4) Location of States and tribes.

(5) The Geography.

(6) The Digvijayas.

(7) Dyuta and other lists.

(8) Index to Appendix.

He has made some brilliant and ingenious identifications of tribes and peoples as on p. 32. Thus Kurus have been traced to the present people of Kulu. He connects the ancient Harappā Civilisation on the Ravi with the Vedic Dāsas and the Epic Āraṭṭas.

On the eclipse of the Indus Valley Civilisation, he points out that the Aryans may not have been entirely responsible. The western Ānavas surely had something to do with it. He is inclined to identify the Ānavas with the yellow race. What part they played in the destruction of the Harappā Civilization has yet to be proved by Archaeology and Anthropology. Nevertheless, it is a fascinating hypothesis.

He has made a differentiation between Dāsas and Dasyus. The Dasyus are referred to in contemptuous terms by the Aryans. He identifies them with the Bhils. The Dāsas were enemies of Aryans, who were hated, dispersed and overcome. They were never held in contempt according to Mr. Shafer. The social level of these two was on the same plane but it was not so regarding the Dasyus.

The two maps, particularly the one on ethnography and linguistics, have added to the value and usefulness of the publication. All in all, Mr. Shafer has broken new ground, though many of his conclusions will have to be verified by Anthropologists and Archaeologists.

He has to be congratulated warmly for bringing out this publication.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL KANAUJ: Vo.l IV of The History and Culture of the Indian People; Bombay, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, January 1955. Pages xliv and 585. Three maps at end. Price Rs. 35/-.

The period covered by this volume (A.D. 750-1000) saw the rise and fall of three empires, the Rāshṭrakūṭa in the Deccan, the Pratīhāra in the western part of North India and the Pāla in Bengal. These empires were more or less of equal importance, and the period as a whole lacks unity. The title of the volume is to some extent an arbitrary choice; this is recognized by the editor of the volume, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, in his preface (p. xxxiii). He points out that after Harsha-Vardhana, the glamour of Kanauj was revived by Yaśovarman, that the city was coveted by each of the three imperial powers above named, and finally chosen as Capital by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras; 'under them it rose to be the finest city in the whole of India, and continued as such till the end of the period covered by this volume. This circumstance has suggested the name of this volume.' But then he also says: 'It is hardly necessary to add that this nomenclature is only to be taken in a general sense, and is not intended to cover the entire history dealt with in this volume. Indeed no title could be devised which fulfils this condition, and no apology is perhaps needed to name any particular volume after its dominant theme.' Dr. K. M. Munshi, however, who directs the whole scheme, is much more emphatic and says: 'It was the Age of Kanauj or Kānyakubja, the imperial city of Īśānavarman, which dominated Madhyadeśa, the heart-land of India.'

The volume contains fourteen chapters of unequal length contributed by different writers. The first eight chapters are political history, the next five cultural, and the last treats of colonial and cultural expansion. The political history follows established lines and presents little that is new; but it constitutes a handy and fairly up-to-date account with detailed documentation. One notices, however, that in every respect the chapters on North India are more carefully done than those relating to the Deccan, South India and Ceylon which somehow lack the intimacy of touch noticeable elsewhere. In some ways the Rāshṭrakūṭas were the greatest of the three imperial powers of the age; the volume opens with a chapter on their history by Dr. Altekar. This account, however, is written in a quieter tone than the two following chapters on the Pratīhāras and Pālas. Such differences

in the quality of writing are to some extent unavoidable in complex co-operative enterprises of this kind. But the Pratīhāras, and in particular Mihira Bhoja among them, come in for fulsome adulation in the Foreword contributed by Dr. Munshi, who reproduces the Gwalior *praśasti* wholesale and adds a *praśasti* of his own: 'Mihira Bhoja was not merely a Caesar, nor a pontiff, as were imperators of Rome and Byzantium. He was a conqueror and great emperor. He was the protector of *dharma*. He was an Ikshvāku, a family in which God himself had chosen to be born. Āryāvarta was thus a pyramid of culture. At its apex stood Vishṇu Himself, the upholder of an evenly ordered realm, the protector of happy and well ordered governance. That is why Bhoja bore the 'epithet *Ādi Varāha*.' Sri Munshi's love of and admiration for the Gurjareśvaras of old is intelligible, but he has evidently carried them too far and obscured the line between history and romance. The chapter (VII) on South India is rather sketchy and carries an Appendix on the genealogy and chronology of the Pallavas by D. C. Sircar which puts forward several speculations on the later Pallavas which will not find ready acceptance; we cannot stop to discuss them here.

'The end of the first millennium, with which the volume closes', says Dr. Majumdar, 'was a turning point in the history of India'. This is true. He compares the Muslim inroads to the invasion of Aryans about three thousand years earlier, and also refers to a remarkable internal change, the emergence of the Rajputs, as another factor operating along with external invasion to bring about the transition to mediaeval India (pp. xxxv—vi). The analogy of the Aryan invasion does not seem to be particularly happy, and others would place the emergence of the Rajputs much earlier and include the Pratīhāras and others among them. Again, Dr. Munshi commits himself to an estimate of the results of the invasions of Sabuktigin and Mahmūd of Ghazni which betrays his unconscious neglect of South India, and says: 'Their lust (i.e. of Sabuktigin and Mahmūd) which found expression in the following decades (after A.D. 1000) was to shake the very foundations of life in India, releasing new forces. They gave birth to mediaeval India. Till the rise of the Hindu power in Mahārāshṭra in the eighteenth century, India was to pass through a period of collective resistance.' (p. vii). Here obviously North India is taken to be all that matters in India, and the achievements of the Chola empire and of Vijayanagar are ignored. That this is not by

any means a strained interpretation of Dr. Munshi's thought becomes clear from another casual statement of his: 'Literary activity in Sanskrit abounded even in the South' (p. xx), as if the South was a stranger to Sanskrit and its culture, and Kumārila, Śankara and Rāmānuja, not to speak of lesser lights, count for nothing in the history of Indian Culture.

In cultural history the period is not one exactly of 'decline and decadence in all spheres' (p. xxxvi) as Dr. Majumdar is inclined to put it; Dr. Munshi writes more appositely: 'In this Age, learning tended more and more to live on the past, the commentators and the writers of digests took the place of law givers' (p. xvi). In other words it was a critical rather than a creative age. In religion Buddhism and Jainism lost ground, and Tantra cults increased in their influence in all creeds; H. D. Bhattacharya gives a good account of the Tantras (pp. 326-50). Literature became more and more pedantic. Viśākhadatta and Rājaśekhara, the representative poets of the age, bear no comparison to Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Bhavabhuti of an earlier time. But eminent rhetoricians like Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Ānanda-Vardhana, Abhinavagupta and Kuntaka make their monk registering new developments in literary criticism as is brought out clearly by Devasthali (pp. 177-203). The Champū type of Kāvya comes into existence also in this period. Śankara in Philosophy and Medhātithi in legal lore are important names. There was good work in the technical sciences also. In Medicine Mādhavakara wrote a masterly treatise on *Rugvaniśchaya* which treats for the first time of all diseases together in one volume. The celebrated *Charaka-Samhitā* received its final redaction at the hands of Dri̥ḍhabala, perhaps in the ninth century. Temple architecture and other forms of art saw notable advances in this period, but these developments are not studied in this volume, as it was thought that 'it would perhaps be more convenient to deal with the last phase of Hindu art, from A.D. 750 to 1300, in a single chapter in the next volume' (p. xxxvii).

The bibliography towards the end is fairly extensive, but not quite up-to-date, and some entries seem to be *pro forma;* for instance, at p. 489 there occurs the entry: Sastri K. A. N., *History of South India,* Bombay, 1952; though announced about that time, the book was first published in 1955 by the Oxford University Press. The chronology, genealogies, and the three maps at the end

together with the comprehensive index are handy aids to the student.

Śankara is generally regarded as the greatest of Indian philosophers and the phrase 'Philosophers like Śankarāchārya' (p. 257) does him scant justice. Though his works and teachings are referred to in many contexts in the book (see Index), there is no adequate account of his philosophical system and its full import. Sri U. C. Bhattacharya who deals particularly with the subject (pp. 357-9) does vouchsafe the reader a glimpse of Śankara's eminence and says: Śankara stands out as a notable milestone in the progress of Vedāntic thought. His style is easy and persuasive; but his personality was more persuasive and imposing.' (p. 358).

The position held by Śankara in the realm of philosophy has its counterpart in the realm of Law and *dharmaśāstra* in that of Medhātithi. His views on many subjects are cited fully by different writers, particularly by Dr. Munshi and Dr. U. N. Ghoshal. Like Śankara he gives out even his most original and creative ideas in the shape of comments on the classic texts in his subject. Dr. Ghoshal observes: 'Medhātithi's views on various points of judicial procedure treated by the older authors indicate the remarkable independence of his thought, combined with good sense and love of fair-play' (p. 250). Dr. Munshi rightly stresses the relation that Medhātithi seeks to establish between the concept of Āryāvarta and *Varṇāśramadharma*; Āryāvarta is not limited by geographical boundaries or confined to India; *mlechcha* land can become Āryāvarta and vice versa according to the establishment and observance of *Varṇāśramadharma* or the reverse in an area (pp. xvi-vii). Medhātithi's view of the social status of the Śūdras is interpreted somewhat differently by Dr. Ghoshal and Dr. Munshi. The former holds that the Jurist was liberal in his outlook, treated Manu's text on Śūdra's divinely ordered servitude as an *arthavāda*, not binding in its nature, and recognised the Śūdra's 'absolute right to personal freedom' (p. 370) Dr. Munshi cites other dicta of Medhātithi on the subject about the Śūdra's right to offer oblations to the fire, to sit in a court of justice and so on, and adds: 'But these dicta are more in the nature of a protest against the growing rigidity of the social order and cannot be read as reflecting universal practice' (p. xix). It is clear that Medhātithi finds it hard to reconcile his own views with the older texts of the status of married women and women

in general. He sanctions early marriages like the older writers and says that girls should be given away in marriage when they are eight or six years old and called *nagnikā;* he explains away Manu's text on the higher ages of the bride and bridegroom as meaning nothing more than that one should marry a girl very much younger than oneself (p. 374). He also emphasises the duty of absolute obedience to the husband on the part of his wife including the performance of personal service such as shampooing his legs, but lays down the condition that the husband follows the righteous path and loves his wife. He also states that husband has no dominion (*prabhutva*) over the wife, and says that the husband and the wife differ only in their bodies but are entirely united in their functions (p. 377). He defends the old view that women lack the intelligence and strength to use their independence properly and wants them to be guarded by their male relations at all times. With the rare exception of some women who are truthful and steady, the generality are, according to him, fickle and not fit to give evidence as witnesses (380). On the other hand, Rājaśekhara who came a century later gives a much higher place to women in society, and his own wife Avantisundarī whom he quotes often in his works was a refined and cultured lady. Instances of other learned women in high society were not unknown in the period (p. xix). According to Rājaśekhara the women of Kanauj did not lag behind its men in education, and there were several poetesses in the city. Dr. Munshi utters a warning against our accepting these statements 'as reflecting the generally prevailing conditions under which women lived'. (p. xx).

This suggests a general observation. In the chapters on political and administrative theory and institutions, law, social life, and economic conditions copious literary evidence and dialectic discussions from different authors have been diligently summed up; this evidence is not only varied and often contradictory, but is only rarely substantiated by the test of concrete facts recorded in inscriptions or otherwise ascertained. The reader of these chapters is tempted often to ask himself where the evidence summed up leads and whether the conclusions drawn are justified by it. It is suggested, for instance, on the evidence of a single verse in the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* that *satī* was not mainly confined to royal families but had spread among the masses (p. 379). The only satisfactory way of dealing with such matters for a vast country like India is to treat each region and era separately together with the evidence bearing on them; this has not always been done.

The discussion of the verse on Vatsarāja and other kings from Jinasena's *Harivamśa-purāṇa* (pp. 21-2) is perhaps too detailed for a general account of the Pratīhāras and might better have been relegated to a note or an appendix. The presumed war of Krishna III against Chedi before his accession to the throne is referred to in three places (pp. 14, 38, 88), but this is based on a misunderstanding of a verse in the Karhad plates as was shown in a paper published in JOR XVI and included in the bibliography to Ch. I. While Dr. Majumdar affirms that the election of Gopāla effected a great transformation in Bengal and compares it to the change that took place in Japan in 1870 (pp. 44 and 49), Dr. Ghoshal says that it failed to lay the foundation of a truly constitutional monarchy in ancient Bengal (p. 241)—an estimate which seems to be nearer the mark. On very slender evidence Dharmapāla of Bengal and Vijaya Chandella as his ally are held to have come into conflict with the Pāṇḍya King Śrī Māra in the extreme south (pp. 57 and 82-3), while of Yaśovarman, the Chandella king, it is said: 'it does not seem likely that Yaśovarman, in the course of conquest, went as far as Kashmir forcing his way through the Punjab', though the Khajraho inscription makes a clear statement to that effect (p. 84). It may be doubted if Indra III halted at Ujjain (p. 94) in his northern campaign; Kālapriya temple where he halted was more likely in Kalpi. Stambhapurī conquered by the E. Chalukya ruler is taken to be Cambay in Gujarat in preference to the more likely Cumbum in Kurnool district (p. 133). The Chola-Kalinga relations under Rājarāja I and Rājendra I is not accurately stated (p. 143). The Kannaḍa work of Śivamāra was not a *Gajaśataka,* but a *Gajāshṭaka* also known as *Śivamāramata* (p. 159). On the basis of the mention of Karuṇāḍar in *Śilappadikāram* the independent existence of Karnāṭaka is said to have started two thousand years ago (p. 220), and it is not easy to find out what is meant by the statement: 'The Chikmagalur inscription takes us back to the fifth century, and the Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa inscription perhaps belongs to an earlier period still' (p. 222). It may be doubted if the Gwalior inscription cited can bear the interpretation regarding 'Separation of Powers' in Pratīhāra administration as stated by Dr. Ghoshal (p. 239). Dr. Majumdar invites particular attention to the inclusion of Khmer in India by Ibn Khordadbah (A.D. 833-848) (p. 418); but it was the common practice of Arab Travellers and Geographers till the thirteenth century to extend the bounds of India up to China.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

KONGU NĀṬṬU VARALĀṚU (Tamil): By C. M. Ramachandran Chettiar with a foreword by Hon. C. Subramanian, Finance Minister, Government of Madras, Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar in its Historical series, 1954, price Rs. 8/-

The study of local or regional history is as important and interesting as the study of the history of larger areas. But such studies in India are still in their infancy. In South India, though we have dynastic histories, there are no regional histories and probably the area covered by the Kongu country is the most neglected in it. It is possibly due to the fact that the area did not form at any period the neucleus of any great kingdom as did for instance the Chola, Pāṇḍya or Tondaimaṇḍalam region, but was all through its history a part of a bigger kingdom or empire like that of the Gangas, Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Hoysalas, Vijayanagar and even Mysore. But a continuous history of the area tracing its vicissitudes during different periods has been a hard felt need and the present publication by Mr. C. M. Ramachandran Chettiar, a well-known Tamil scholar, is an attempt at it.

The book is divided into two parts, the first one dealing with the history of the region up to the end of the period of the Kongu Cholas, roughly the end of the thirteenth century and the second dealing with its subsequent history up to modern times. The first part in its original form had appeared as 48 articles in the Tamiḻ journal *Kongu Malar* (now defunct) and has now been slightly touched and revised in the light of further study. Probably because of the fact that the Kongu country formed part of some kingdom or other all through its history, the author has dealt largely with the history of the different dynasties that ruled over it or had any connection with it, though it may be held that a good part of the account cannot find a place in the history of the region proper. The early history of the Kongu country is shrouded in much mystery, and one has to depend very largely on the traditional accounts about it contained in the literary work *Kongudēśa-rājākkal;* and it is not easy to verify or get confirmation of the details contained in it. Skandapura which is said to have been capital of the early rulers and the Ratti family to which they are said to have belonged are problems that still baffle the historian with regard to their identification. The author's statement that the fortunes of the whole of the Tamil country were at a low

ebb for nearly two centuries after the fall of the Pallavas and that the Tamil kings came under the suzerainty of the rulers of the Deccan during the period is not really borne out by facts. The author treats of the Kongu Cholas as a branch of the imperial Cholas, who beginning as governors under them, became in due course practically independent. His account of them is informative, but one would naturally expect to know what part they played, if any, in the tangled politics of the Tamil country in the 12th and 13th centuries, and how they were disposed towards the Imperial Cholas during the period.

The second part commences with an account of the political history of South India in the 11th and 12th centuries. From about the middle of the 13th century the Kongu country came under the Pāṇḍyas and from 1265 the Kongu Pāṇḍyas ruled over the region till about 1335. We have a good account of their chronology and some of their achievements; but their relations with the Pāṇḍyan kings of Madura is not clearly known. The latter portion of the book deals with the subsequent history of the area in relation to the Hoysalas, Cheras, Vijayanagar kings, Mysore rulers and its conquest and settlement by the British by the beginning of the nineteenth century and ends with useful Gazetteer information about the area covered by the Kongu country. The publication is to be welcomed as a good beginning of the study of the history of the Kongu country.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

A HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indology, University of Mysore. Oxford University Press, 1955 pp. xii & 486; Price Rs. 12/-.

A longstanding lacuna in the writing of Indian History has been the unfortunate neglect of South India. 'History of India' has meant down to this day primarily the history of North India, the region to the north of the Vindhyas. This complaint can by no means be dismissed as the outcome of any parochial or narrow outlook. A scientific and comprehensive treatment of a country's history can ill afford to neglect a tangible part of the country. This feature is to be all the more deplored because South India has had a much longer history than the north. Archaeological evidence shows that South India is one of the earliest regions inhabited by man. Moreover, the south has been comparatively free from external incursions and consequently the indigenous culture has had a greater chance of survival here than elsewhere.

Prof. Sundaram Pillai long ago drew pointed attention to this sore need. He wrote: "The scientific historian of India ought to begin his study with the basin of the Krishna, of the Kaveri, of the Vaigai, rather than with the Gangetic plain, as has been now long, too long, the fashion". True, Vincent Smith and several authors after him, including the author of the book under review, have pleaded paucity of material and difficulty of distinguishing the Aryan and non-Aryan elements in the early South Indian culture, as extenuating circumstances. However, these difficulties are not so insurmountable as to preclude the possibility of reconstructing South Indian History.

While the collection of new data has not progressed as fast as we may expect, the utilisation of the available sources in attempting a comprehensive history of South India, too, has been distressingly slow. Since Bhandarkar wrote his 'Early History of the Dekkan' and K. V. Subramania Aiyar his 'Historical Sketches of the Deccan', considerable new material has been brought to light and several monographs have appeared. But the present contribution of Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri constitutes the first attempt at providing a comprehensive history of the region to the south of the Vindhyas from the earliest times down to the middle of the 17th century. A scholar of repute and the well-

known author of monographs on the Pandyas and Cholas, he is eminently suited to undertake this arduous attempt.

Assessing the original sources he is rightly inclined to consider epigraphs more valuable than literature, although he sounds a legitimate note of warning in the interpretation of inscriptions. This discussion of the sources, literary, epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological, is followed by a description of the geographical background. An examination of the influence of the different geographical factors enables him to show how the agricultural prosperity and the early maritime activity of South India were clear illustrations of geography having governed history. He shows how the fertile Carnatic plain was destined to be the land where all the great historical kingdoms of South India fixed their capitals and became 'the land of unnumbered temples, of indigenous arts and of almost prehistoric industries'. (p. 48).

Chapter III is devoted to the study of the early inhabitants of South India on the basis of the available data. The fossil remains of fauna in the river valleys liks the Godavary and the Narmada indicate the antiquity of human life in these regions to a period of well over 500,000 years. Tracing the different ages through which man passed in South India, the author emphasises the resemblances between the remains found here and those in South and North Africa, suggesting contact between them all. An analysis of the racial composition of the population of South India suggests the possible connection with the negrito, proto-Austroloid, proto-Mediterranean, the Mediterranean, the Armenoid and the Nordic elements. He holds that the Dravidian language and culture hark back to the highlands of Anatolia, Armenia and Iran, the area dominated by the Armenoid type. The resemblances between the Dravidian group and the Mitani on the one hand and the culture of Adichanallur and that of eastern Mediterranean on the other indicate that Western Asia might well have been the original home of the Dravidians. Be that as it may, it is doubtful whether the prevalence of inheritance through women, the worship of the Mother Goddess and the existence of the Devadasi system could all be invoked in support of this theory, for there are other regions also where these customs prevailed. Dr. S. K. Chatterji's suggestion (Vedic Age, p. 158) that the Lycians of Asia Minor, who called themselves Trimmili in their inscriptions were probably the ancestors of the Tamil section of the Dravidians is

reinforced by Prof. Sastri. However, though certain postulates have been advanced, much more investigation on the pre-history of South India remains to be done which may throw more convincing light on the affinities suggested. The author himself rightly recognises that "the systematic study of the prehistory of South India has yet to be undertaken". (pp. 12-13).

The next chapter is devoted to the history of the Aryanisation of South India and the discussion of the Agastya legends. The suggestion that the Aryanisation of South India might have begun as early as 1000 B.C. (p. 65) seems to be wide of the mark especially because Panini, writing about the sixth century B.C., mentions little about the region to the south of the Narmada.

Chapters V to XII provide a detailed account of the political history of South India from about the third century B.C. to the 17th century A.D. Among these chapters, perhaps, the most interesting one is that which deals with 'The Age of the Sangam and After'. Few questions have provoked more acute controversy than the historical assessment of the Sangam Literature. It is undeniable that the author has brought to bear an adequate and scientific treatment on the subject, though differences of views may persist on problems like the location of the Chera capital (p. 119) or the nature of Tholkappiyam (p. 125). The author fixes the date of the Sangam Age between A.D. 100 and 250 on the basis of valid reasons. The chapter contains a critical account of the politics of the period, the exploits of the various monarchs as well as the social and religious conditions, as gathered from the classics, particularly from Purananuru, Padirruppattu, Pattinappalai and Pathuppattu. In the other chapters on political history the rise and fall of kingdoms, the rivalries between the neighbouring powers, the conquests and personal attainments of monarchs as well as the administrative systems organised by the rulers are all narrated with scrupulous care. His marshalling of facts is admirable; this is remarkably seen in his unravelling the mutual antagonisms of the Pandya and Hoysala in the south and the Kakatiya and Yadava in the north during the 13th century. He has the gift of expressing ideas clearly and effectively with the minimum number of words. Prof. Sastri accords deliberately an important place to the treatment of political history. He is convinced that political history which provides the bedrock of chronology is the fundamental basis for the history of a people.

While the important place given to political history is understandable the manner of treating the subject matter leaves one in doubt as to the class of readers for whom the book is primarily intended. Though the author has stated that in this book he is obliged to resort to 'apparently summary and even dogmatic treatment of controversial topics' (p. 11) and that, he confines himself to the more established facts leaving aside all unsettled questions' (p. 13), the advanced reader cannot but wish that more light is thrown on the processes leading to the inferences. In many places the conclusions on controversial issues are stated without indicating the reasons or the exact sources. For instance he regards the Pallavas as "a dynasty of North Indian origin which moved to the south and there adopted local traditions to their own use". Even the note added in an Appendix on page 475 does not carry us far in rejecting the oft-repeated theories. Again, he discounts the theory of Mauryan invasion of the Podyil region in the extreme South (p. 86). The origin of Vijayanagar (pp. 228-9) and the assignment of Tiruvalluvar to a period between 450 and 500 A.D. (p. 350) are other examples. Though elaborate discussions of all such disputed questions would be impracticable, proper notes with suitable references would have been of great help.

The last four chapters are devoted to concise descriptions of the social and economic conditions, the development of literature, religion and art. There can appear specialised monographs on each of these or even on each of their sub-divisions; here, it is but natural that only a summary account of selected topics has been provided.

The maps are on a small scale and the place-names within them present a crowded appearance. The photographic illustrations are capable of improvement; there are cases of fading and blurring. Misprints are numerous. On the whole the publishers cannot be said to have maintained their reputation for efficiency.

K. K. Pillay.

SIX ST. THOMASSES OF SOUTH INDIA—A Muslim Non-Martyr (Thawamma) Made Martyrs after 1517 A.D.: By T. K. Joseph (Chenganur P.O., Travancore, S.W. India).

This is a new exposition of the problem of the Apostle Thomas and the question of his advent to South India. The author is well known for his original views on St. Thomas and India and has written quite a lot in numerous journals both in India, and from outside. The present work represents the collection of all his arguments against the possibility of the Thomistic visit and sojourn in South India presented in a focus.

The author is of opinion that there were actually six persons bearing the holy name of Thomas with connections with South India (pp. 32 ff.) who have helped to confuse the whole issue of the supposed Apostolic visit in or round about 52 A.D. The central point of the argumentation rests on the story of a Muslim saint Thawamma equated by the author with St. Thomas. The reference for this is taken from Marco Polo II p. 358 (Yule, 1903); unfortunately, however, it is not very clear. There is no reference at all to a Muslim saint having been buried in Mylapore in the Book of Ser Marco Polo. What he tells on the other hand is that the Saracens also held to Thomas very dearly as one of their own, "giving him the title of *Avarian,* which is as much as to say "Holy Man". The rest of the argument spins round the region of very doubtful identifications as for example in identifying Calamina of the Roman Breviary mentioned as the burial place of the saint, of India as to which India it referred to, which seems to be of no great use to the point. In spite of all the learning indicated in the book the question of St. Thomas' advent to South India still remains on its seat and the continuous tradition beginning from at least the VI century A.D., when Gregory of Tours made his visit to Mylapore not to speak of the Syriac *Acta Thomae* of the III century A.D. pointing to the Apostle's death in the region of that city remains unassailed. The book may, however, be read with interest by all those who want to see the other man's point of view and judge for themselves what it is worth, for it presents in a detailed way all the points against the acceptance of the orthodox view.

M. Arokiaswami.

Select Contents of Periodicals

I. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Annals of the*, Vol. XXXV, 1954, Poona.

Who were the Gurjara-Pratiharas? by V. B. Mishra.

II. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the,* Vol. XL, Part 4, December 1954, Patna.

Indo-Percian Relation in the Age of the Great Mughals, by S. H. Askari.

III. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the,* Vol. XLI, Part 1, March 1955, Patna.

1. *Village in Ancient India* by Balabhadra Jha.
2. *The Family Name of Pushyamitra,* by Hari Kishore Prasad.
3. *A Dark Chapter in the History of Bengal,* by Ram Prasad Majumdar.

IV. *Ceylon Historical Journal,* Vol. IV, July & October, 1954 and January & April 1955, Nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4, Ceylon.

Parakramabahu and South India, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

V. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIX, Part IV. October 1951, New Delhi.

Reyuru Grant of Pallava Narasimhavarman; year 12, by P. B. Desai.

VI. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIX, Part V, January 1952, New Delhi..

Nagarjunikonda Image Inscription, by H. K. Narasimhaswami.

VII. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXX, No. 4, December 1954, Calcutta.

1. *Maharana Udai Singh and the Sur Emperors of Delhi,* by Arya Ramachandra G. Tiwari.
2. *Ancient Indian Geography,* by Sures Chandra Banerji.
3. *The Puranas on the Imperial Guptas,* by Dasaratha Sarma.

4. *Date of the Imadpur Image Inscription of Mahipala I,* by Dr. D. C. Sircar.

VIII. *Kashmir,* May 1955, Delhi.

Martand—the Crowning Phase of Ancient Kashmiri Architecture, by V. S. Naravane.

IX. *Kashmir,* June 1955, New Delhi.

Ancient Monuments in Jammu, by Suraj Saraf.

X. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the,* Vol. IV. December 1954, March 1955, Nos. 2-3, Baroda.

1. *Gangadasapratapvilasa by Gangadhara, A Historical Sanskrit Play depicting the Conflict between Sultan Muhammad II of Ahmedabad and King Gangadasa of Champaner,* by B. J. Sandesara.
2. *Mahavira's Contemporary Kings,* by K. C. Shah.
3. *Vikramaditya-Saga II,* by Dr. U. P. Shah.

XI. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Vol. XLV, New Series, No. 3, Bangalore.

1. *The Diffusion Theory,* by Philip Spratt.
2. *Kashmir Shaivism,* by J. Rudrappa.

XII. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Vol. XLV, New Series, No. 4, Bangalore.

1. *Kashmir Shaivism,* by J. Rudrappa.
2. *The Diffusion Theory,* by Philip Spratt.

XIII. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Vol. XLVI, New Series No. 1, Bangalore.

1. *Largest Provincial Organisations in Ancient India,* by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.
2. *Sri Sankaracharya and His Mission,* by S. Srikantaya.
3. *Stone Age in South India,* by Dr. M. Arokiaswami.

XIV. *University of Bombay—Journal of the,* January 1955, Vol. XXII (New Series), Part 4, Bombay.

Reorganization of Indian States, by K. P. Mukerji.